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V SWAMINATHAN

A TEXTUAL PROBLEM IN ADVAITA VEDĀNTA AND VYĀKARAṆA

Śrī Śaṅkara resolves the compound द्युभ्वाद्यायतन in द्युभ्वाद्यायतन स्वशब्दम्, BS 1.3 1 into द्यौश्च भूश्च द्युभुवौ, द्युभुवावादी यस्य तदिदं द्युभ्वादि — यदेतस्मिन् वाक्ये द्यौ पृथिव्यन्तरिक्ष मन प्राणा इत्येवमादिकं जगत् ओतत्वेन निर्दिष्ट — तस्यायतनम् On this statement in Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*, Ānandagiri, author of the *Nyāyanirṇaya*, an authoritative commentary on Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*, observes

पूर्वपक्षमनूद्य उत्तरपक्षप्रतिज्ञामादाय विगृह्णाति एवमिति। 'न भूसुधियो' इति निषेधात् द्युभ्वादीति यणादेशासिद्धिरिति चेत् न। 'गतिकारकोपपदाभ्यामन्यपूर्वस्य नेष्यते' इति विशेषणात्, अस्य च कारकोपपदत्वात्। द्वन्द्वे द्वयोः समत्वादुपपदत्वं दिवो नेति चेत् न। समत्वेऽपि प्रथमप्रयुक्ताया दिव चरमप्रयुक्ता भुव प्रत्युपपदत्वमारोप्य समासे यणादेशसिद्धेः। न च द्वन्द्वे समस्यमानानां समत्वनियमः, राजपुरुषादिषु व्यभिचारात्। तस्मात् वर्षाभ्वादिवत् द्युभ्वादीत्यविरुद्धम्।

This may be translated as: "One cannot raise the objection - the presence of the substitute व् (यण) in द्युभ्वादि is not justifiable since it is prohibited with reference to the word भू by Pāṇini, 6.4.85 - because the scope of the prohibitory rule 6 4 85 is restricted to instances where the

word preceding भू is other than (that which is technically known as) a *gatī* or *kāraṅkopapada* by the amendment गतिकारकोपपदाभ्यामन्यपूर्वस्य नेष्यते। But here भू is preceded by दिव्, a *kāraṅkopapada*. The argument that the word दिव् (द्यु) does not have any claim to be an *upapada* on the ground that in a Dvandva compound both the constituent members are of equal status cannot sustain. For the substitute व (यण्) could be easily obtained by attributing subordinate status (*upapadatva*) to दिव् the first member with reference to भू the final member in the compound. That the members of a Dvandva compound should be of equal status is not a necessary condition, for deviation to this condition is often met with in instances such as राजपुरुषौ.¹ Therefore in द्युभ्वादि there is no violation of the rule prohibiting यण् as in वर्षाभ्वश्च”

The three rules referred to by Ānandagiri, viz. ओ सुपि (6 4.83) together with the restrictive amendment गतिकारकोपपदाभ्यामन्यपूर्वस्य नेष्यते, न भूसुधियो (6.4.85) and वर्षाभ्वश्च (6 4 85) will operate, i.e. will replace the ऊ in भू, only in the immediate neighbourhood of a nominal inflection with an initial vowel (अजादौ सुपि)

ओ सुपि enjoins the replacement of ऊ in भू by व in the immediate neighbourhood of an inflection with an initial vowel, न भूसुधियो prohibits this replacement of व and वर्षाभ्वश्च sets aside this prohibition and reinstates व.

Therefore the rules referred to by the commentator cannot have any relevancy to the व in द्युभ्वादि (in Śaṅkara's statement द्युभुवावादी यस्य तदिदं द्युभ्वादि since आदि is not a nominal inflection

From the commentator's reference to the restrictive amendment and his stand in favour of the subservient

character of दिव् (द्वि) it is obvious that he is accounting for the replacement of ऊ by व in the compound stem द्बुभू when immediately followed by an inflection with an initial vowel. By virtue of the compound being a Dvandva the inflection that brings about the replacement of ऊ in भू can be none other than the nominative dual, viz औ. It immediately follows that the word in question is द्बुभ्वौ wherein व is substituted for ऊ.

One should not forget the fact that Ānandagiri is commenting upon Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* and that he is accounting for the grammatical correctness of a word in Śaṅkara's text.

Now it is evident that द्बुभ्वौ is a word in Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* and accordingly it must be a part of the *vigraha-vākya* द्यौश्च भूश्च द्बुभ्वौ द्बुभ्वावादी यस्य तदिदं द्बुभ्वादि।

Needless to highlight that the text of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* commented upon by Ānandagiri possessed the word द्बुभ्वौ and not द्बुभुवौ as found in the printed editions of the *Bhāṣya* accompanied by Ānandagiri's commentary.

Ānandagiri's commentary along with Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* is available in three printed editions in Devanāgarī characters.

- (1) Ānandāśrama Press, Poona,
- (2) together with two more commentaries - *Bhāmātī* of Vācaspati Miśra and *Ratnaprabhā* of Govindānanda, N S Press, Bombay, and
- (3) together with *Bhāmātī* and *Ratnaprabhā*, Venkateswara Steam Press, Bombay²

All printed editions invariably present the text of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* under consideration as द्यौश्च भूश्च द्बुभुवौ यस्य तदिदं द्बुभ्वादि।

Therefore without fear of contradiction we may safely assert that the text of Śankara's *Bhāṣya* as given in the three printed editions with Ānandagiri's commentary, mentioned above, is not the one upon which Ānandagiri commented

The universal practice among the Sanskrit commentators is to write the word chosen for comments, *pratīkā* first and then only the comments he offers. In the present instance *द्युभ्वौ* being the word to receive comments must come first and then the comment न भूसुधियो. इति निषेधात् and so on, i.e. the commentary should run: द्युभ्वाविति। न भूसुधियोरिति निषेधात्। But in all the editions containing Ānandagiri's commentary the word *द्युभ्वौ* is conspicuous by its absence. From the absence of *द्युभ्वौ* one could draw the legitimate inference that the scribes who wrote the manuscripts on which the printed editions are based had inadvertently omitted the word *dyubhvau*.

This omission had resulted in tampering the text of the commentary as we shall presently see

The commentary, in print, reads न भूसुधियोरिति निषेधात् द्युभ्वादीनि यणादेशासिद्धेरिति चेत् - - - - वर्षाभ्वादिवत् द्युभ्वादीत्यविरुद्धम्। As observed already the commentator is accounting for the presence of व् in *द्युभ्वौ* and accordingly the commentary should have read न भूसुधियोरिति निषेधात् द्युभ्वाविति यणादेशासिद्धे - - - - वर्षाभ्वादिवत् द्युभ्वाविति अविरुद्धम्।

In the absence of *द्युभ्वौ* in the *Bhāṣya* as a part of it and in the commentary as *pratīkā* the earnest student was at a loss to connect the comments accounting for the occurrence of व्, resulting from coalescence (sandhi) with *dyubhvau*. The only word in the *Bhāṣya* with which he could associate the comments is *द्युभ्वादि* (in *द्युभ्वावादीयस्य तदिदं*

दुभ्वादि) which contains *v* effected by coalescence with the following vowel. To make this connection intelligible he had no other course but to alter the text of the commentary. Accordingly he replaced दुभ्वाविति by दुभ्वादीति. He would not have ventured this tampering had he been acquainted with the rules of grammar.

The omission of the *pratīkā*: दुभ्वाविति and the subsequent alteration of दुभ्वाविति as दुभ्वादीति must have taken place at a very distant past since they existed in the manuscripts utilized for all the three printed editions.

In this context we derive some enlightenment from Sadāśivendrasarasvatī, author of several works in Advaita. In his *Brahmatattvapraśāṅgikā*,³ a brief commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* he resolves the compound दुभ्वाद्यायतनम् into द्यौश्च भूश्च दुभ्वौ, दुभ्वौ आदी यस्य, द्यौः पृथिव्यन्तरिक्षमित्येवमात्मकस्य, तददुभ्वादि तस्यायतनम्. In his commentary Sadāśivendrasarasvatī closely follows Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*, a fact which even a superficial reader would not fail to notice. It is patent that the passage (cited above) embodying the resolution of the compound word is only a summarized statement of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* cited in the beginning of this article. It requires no skill to mention that Sadāśivendra has borrowed from Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*, the passage constituting the resolution of the compound and the manuscript he used for his study of the *Bhāṣya* must have read the passage as द्युश्च भूश्च दुभ्वौ (and not as द्युश्च भूश्च दुभुवौ).

Further he was thoroughly acquainted with Ānandagiri's commentary also. In the commencement of every *adhikaraṇa* he freely borrows the *saṃgatī* - the introduction to each *adhikaraṇa* showing its consistent relation with the previous *adhikaraṇa* - from Ānandagiri's

commentary. Even in the दुभ्वाद्यधिकरण, now under consideration, the two *saṃgatis* found in Sadāśivendra's *Vṛtti* agree, even verbally, with those in Ānandagiri's commentary. It is also possible to hold that the manuscript of Ānandagiri's commentary used by him for his studies, read the *Bhāṣya* passage under consideration as द्यौश्च भूश्च दुभ्वौ and consequently the *pratīkā* as दुभ्वाविति।

Ānandagiri must have consulted several manuscripts of the *Bhāṣya* for writing his commentary and since all of them uniformly read the passage as द्यौश्च भूश्च दुभ्वौ he considered the passage as authentic and spared no pains to justify the grammatical correctness of the compound *dyubhvau*. Had he been aware of the other reading द्युभुवौ he would have at least made a mention of it or he would not have taken this much pain to justify the compound formation *dyubhvau*.

It could be asserted in no uncertain terms that all the manuscripts of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* available in the region from where Ānandagiri hailed read the passage uniformly as द्यौश्च भूश्च दुभ्वौ। The other reading found in the texts followed in the other commentaries was unknown to the commentator.

From very ancient times the passage, in Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*, under consideration, was handed down in two different readings as the evidence of the manuscripts show.

The grammatical rule गतिकारकोपपदाभ्यामन्यपूर्वस्य नेष्यते cited by the commentator in order to justify the presence of व in दुभ्वौ is an *iṣṭi* - a rule formulated by Patañjali, the author of the *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* - according to Haradatta⁴ and Nāgeśa⁵. But the *Mahābhāṣya* reads

this rule as a positive statement गतिकारकपूर्वस्यैवेष्यते whereas the *Kāśikā* presents it as a negative statement, गतिकारकाभ्यामन्यपूर्वस्य नेष्यते under 6.4.82⁶ and 6.4.83 The *Siddhāntakaumudī*⁷ also states the rule in the negative form with slight variations: गतिकारकेतरपूर्वपदस्य यण् नेष्यते।

The rule as cited by Ānandagiri includes the word उपपद not to be met with in the rule as found in the standard works on grammar. The presence of the word उपपद in the rule cannot be dismissed as an insertion or interpolation made by an inadvertent scribe since Ānandagiri understands उपपद in the sense of उपसर्जन (subordinate) and takes pains to justify the subordinate status of चौ in a Dvandva compound. Therefore उपपद is a bona fide constituent of the rule and some manuscripts of the *Kāśikā* which the commentator had made use of might have read the rule as गतिकारकोपपदाभ्यामन्यपूर्वस्य नेष्यते।

Future researches will bring to light the variations in the body of the rule by a careful collation of all the available manuscripts of the *Kāśikā*.

REFERENCES

- 1 Vide Pāṇini's sūtra रवयुक्मघोनामतद्धिते, wherein the components of Dvandva compound are not of equal status
- 2 The other printed editions of Śāṅkara's *Bhāṣya* are
 - 1 Calcutta Sanskrit Series No 1 Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House Limited, Calcutta, 1941 with nine commentaries edited by Mm Anantakrishna Sastri
 - 2 With the commentary *Prakatārthavivaraṇa*, Madras University.
 - 3 With *Brahmavidyābharana* of Ādvaitānanda Sarasvatī of the Sanskrit Education Society, Madras, 1976
 - 4 N S Press edition, Bombay

- 5 Madras edition released on the occasion of the 61st Birthday Celebrations of Jagadguru Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati of the Kanchi Kamakotipeetham
- 3 Vānīvilāsa Śāstra Series No 6 Vanī Vilasa Press, Srirangam, 1909
- 4 Padamañjarī on Kāśikā, 6 4 82 गतिकारकोपपदाभ्यामिति इष्टिरैवैषा।
5. Mahābhāṣya-pradīpodyota, 6.4.82. गतिकारकपूर्वस्यैवेष्ट्यत इति इय भाष्यकृत इष्टि।
- 6 P एतेकाचोऽस्येगपूर्वस्य।
- 7 6.4 83

SHANKAR GOYAL

PRABHĀKARAVARDHANA A NEW ASSESSMENT

Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harṣa of the Puṣyabhūti dynasty, was born from Mahāsenagupta. Bāṇa tells us that he was also famous by his second name (*prathitāparanāma*) Pratāpaśīla. The silver coins bearing the legend *śrī pratāpasala* (= Śrī Pratāpaśīla) yielded by the Bhitaura hoard (Dist. Faizabad, U.P.) have, therefore, been attributed to him. He was certainly the first independent king of the dynasty. His advent is recorded by Bāṇa in the following words :

From this Puṣyabhūti there issued a line of kings In which line were born kings ... thronging the regions with their armies ... strong to support the world, .. . The line so proceeding, there was born in course of time a king of kings named Prabhākaravardhana¹

Bāṇa calls Prabhākara *rājādhirāja*, i.e. 'king of kings'. Harṣa's records inform us that he was called

'Paramabhattachāraka' and 'Mahārājādhirāja' Commenting on this Buhler has observed that "he must have been an independent sovereign and a man of some consequence" and "no doubt owed his prosperity to his valour" ²

According to Bāna, Prabhākaravardhana was a lion to the Hūna deer, a burning fever to the king of Sindhu, a troubler of the sleep of Gurjaras, a bilious plague to that scent-elephant the lord of Gandhāra, a destroyer of the lawlessness (or skill) of the Lāṭas, and an axe to the creeper of Mālava Lakṣmī, i e Mālava fortune or sovereignty ³ These rulers, said to have been defeated by Prabhākara, seem to have incurred little if any loss of territory at his hands but, according to Devahuti, Bāna's rhetoric does indicate that the king of Sthānviśvara was an ambitious ruler who attacked his neighbours on the slightest pretext War was to him 'a favour'. A foe the discovery of a treasure. There is no doubt that ultimately Prabhākaravardhana succeeded in winning for himself a distinguished status among contemporary rulers. Through his campaigns he is said to have 'levelled on every side, hills and hollows, clumps and forests, trees and grass, thickets and anthills, mountains and caves'. According to the ancient treatises on law, these served as landmarks showing boundaries between districts and regions. ⁴

However, a correct appreciation of Prabhākaravardhana's relations with the powers enumerated above depend upon his status at that time Let us now, therefore, examine the question of the identity of the overlords of the early Pusyabhūti in detail.

As we have shown elsewhere⁵ Pusyabhūti, the founder of the dynasty, flourished in the Gupta age. Therefore, he and his immediate successors must have been subordinates of the imperial Guptas. It is quite possible that king Pusyabhūti fought some wars against the Nāgas of Mathurā on behalf of Samudragupta, as is indicated by his 'duel' with Śrīkantha Nāga and by a possible reference to his victory over the Sūrasenas.

The three immediate predecessors of Prabhākara were also simply Mahārājas. According to D C Ganguli, their title *mahārāja* "leaves no doubt that they were not very powerful chiefs" and it may "easily be surmised that like the Maukharis, their immediate neighbours in the east, the Pusyabhūtis also took advantage of the fall of Gupta Empire to found an independent kingdom"⁶ But the title *mahārāja* in the sixth century meant a subordinate status. Therefore, the early Pusyabhūti Mahārājas must have been subordinates of some imperial power. Prabhākara was the first ruler of his dynasty who assumed the title *mahārājādhirāja*. But he also must have been a *mahārāja* before he claimed imperial status. Now, the question arises when did he assume the imperial title - *before* or *after* or *during* - the campaigns enumerated above. Broadly speaking, if he undertook them as a Mahārāja, then it will have to be accepted that he fought these wars, technically at least, on behalf of his Master whosoever he was and if he was an emperor *before* he waged these wars, then he must have fought them to enhance his own power and prestige. Conceivably, he could have waged some wars *before* the assumption of the imperial title and some *after* its assumption. Let us, therefore, first try to identify the suzerain power to whom the Pusyabhūtis owed allegiance at the time of his

accession and then try to determine till when he continued to owe his allegiance to it

According to R.C. Majumdar, Mahārājas Naravardhana, Rājyavardhana I and Ādityavardhana were "feudatory chiefs acknowledging the supremacy either of the Hūṇas or of the Guptas or of both at different times. It is also very likely that the Maukharis exercised supremacy over them" ⁷ On the other hand, B N Sharma opines that acknowledgement of the supremacy of the Guptas or of the Maukharis is feasible, but any such respect to the Hūṇas seems improbable for "Prabhākaravardhana was at constant war with the Hūṇas".⁸ But Sharma has not understood the point made by Majumdar correctly. Majumdar has talked of the possibility of any of the three early Puṣyabhūti rulers acknowledging the overlordship of the Hūṇas, not of Prabhākara being their feudatory. We feel that Naravardhana, the first of the Puṣyabhūti kings, mentioned in the epigraphs of Harṣa, might have been a feudatory of the Hūṇas. It may be recalled that he flourished in the age of Mihirakula, and Mihirakula ruled over the entire region from Gandhāra and Kashmir to Gwalior for more than a decade, for his Gwalior record is dated in his 15th regnal year (c. 528 A.D.). Further, in the Mandasor undated pillar inscription of the Aulikara emperor Yaśodharman it is said that Mihirakula bowed his head before none except Lord Sthānu. Now, Śiva was worshipped under the name Sthānu especially at Sthānviśvara, the capital of Śrīkaṇṭha kingdom of the Puṣyabhūtis and Sthānviśvara was well within the empire of Mihirakula; rather it was almost in the centre of his empire. Therefore, it becomes quite reasonable to assume that Mihirakula's Puṣyabhūti contemporary Naravardhana accepted the overlordship of the Hūṇa

emperor It is also not beyond the bounds of possibility that Mihirakula made Sthānviśvara his capital, as his prolonged stay there implied in Yaśodharman's statement about his steadfast and continued devotion to Lord Sthānu, the god worshipped in that city, suggests

Thus, the first Pusyabhūti ruler mentioned in the records of Harsa seems to have been under the subordination of the Hūnas It is also very likely that for some time he had to accept the overlordship of the Aulikara emperor Yaśodharman, the conqueror of Mihirakula.

After the collapse of the Hūna and Aulikara empires, the Maukharis emerged as the imperial power in North India. Therefore, it becomes a possibility worthy of serious consideration that in the later half of the sixth century the Pusyabhūti rulers became subordinates of the Maukhari emperors As mentioned above, R C Majumdar has noted the possibility of the Maukharis exercising supremacy over the predecessors of Prabhākaravardhana and B N Sharma opines that the supremacy of the Maukharis over them is feasible However, neither Majumdar nor Sharma, and for that matter nor any other scholar, has argued in detail for the supremacy of the Maukharis over the predecessors of Prabhākara We, however, feel that the overlordship of the Maukharis over the Pusyabhūtis may be very logically argued, nay, it may even be shown that Prabhākara himself accepted their suzerainty till quite late in his life In this connection we would like to draw the attention of scholars to the following facts .

1 In the later half of the sixth century, when the empires of the Guptas, Hūnas and Aulikaras were no more,

the Maukharis emerged as the real imperial power in North India. In the east their empire extended up to Magadha from the time of Śārvavarman at least. A seal of Avantivarman is found from Sohmag (Gorakhpur district) and the seals of Śārvavarman, Avantivarman and the latter's son 'Su' have been found at Nalandā. In the Sirpur inscription there is a reference to one Sūryavarman, 'born in the unblemished family of the Varmans, great on account of (their) supremacy over Magadha'.⁹ The Varmans of this epigraph are generally taken to be the Maukharis,¹⁰ and this Sūryavarman is generally identified with the Sūryavarman of the Harsa record who was the son of Īśānavarman. As remarked by 'D.C. Sircar, no Varman lords of Magadha except the Maukharis are known.¹¹ The point is conclusively proved by the Deo-Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II,¹² which refers to Paramēśvara Śārvavarman and Paramēśvara Avantivarman who are said to have confirmed the grant of the village Varuṇikā situated in the Nagarabhukti that had earlier been made by Bālāditya (one of the Bālādityas of the imperial Gupta dynasty). As the Nagarabhukti included within it Pāṭaliputra as well, this evidence shows that these Maukhari monarchs ruled over Magadha.¹³ Maukharis are not known to have ruled beyond Magadha in the east, but they did fight wars against the Gaudas during the time of Īśānavarman, a rivalry which culminated in the Gauda invasion under Śaśāṅka on Grahavarman.

In the south the Maukhari empire extended up to Bundelkhand at least, for the Barah copper plate of Bhojadeva (V.S. 893=835 A.D.)¹⁴ mentions Paramēśvara Śārvavarman, almost certainly identical with Śārvavarman, the son of Īśānavarman,¹⁵ as making a grant of

some land in the Udumbara *visaya* of Kālañjara *mandala*. Further a seal of Śarvavarman is said to have been found from Asiragadh.¹⁶ Some scholars¹⁷ have plausibly argued that a seal, being small and easily portable, could have been brought there from somewhere else and, therefore, its discovery from Asiragadh does not prove that it was included within the Maukhari dominion. However, it should be remembered that as the Lords of Dhārā and of the Āndhras and the Śūlikas had already been defeated by the Maukharis, the authority of Śarvavarman might have extended to the south of the Vindhya. Asiragadh would then be the southern outpost of the Maukhari empire.¹⁸ The fact that the Maukhari queen Rājyaśrī sought shelter in the Vindhyan forests is also indicative of the Maukhari rule in that region.¹⁹

In the west the extent of the Maukhari empire is not known but it is certain that Raivataka mountain (Girnar in Surāstra) figures in the description of the campaigns of Īśvaravarman.

Thus, it is beyond any doubt that in the sixth century A D, with their capital at Kanauj the Maukharis firmly ruled over what are now U.P. and Bihar and had cast the net of their influence and warlike activities quite wide in east, south and west. Therefore, it is only they who could have been the overlords of the Puṣyabhūti, who were their immediate neighbours.

2. The fact that the Maukharis exercised supremacy over Uttarā-khaṇḍa, that is the hilly areas of U.P., also makes it certain that in the second half of the sixth century the Puṣyabhūti were subordinate to them. Firstly,

it may be noted that the Aphsed inscription of Ādityasena, in connection with the Maukharī-Later Gupta War in which Dāmodaragupta, the father of Mahāsenagupta, was killed, refers to the mighty elephants of the Maukharis throwing aloft the troops of the Hūnas in battle,²⁰ while in the *Harṣacarita* Bāna places the Hūna enemies of Prabhākara in the Uttarā-khanda. As there is no indication whatsoever that the Hūnas had invaded North Indian plains in the post-Mihirakula period, it may be presumed that like Prabhākara, the Maukharis also fought against them in the Uttarā-khanda. In that case it will also have to be presumed that the Maukharis exercised authority over the Pusyabhūtis, for the kingdom of the Pusyabhūtis lay in between Kanauj, the Maukharī capital, and Uttarā-khanda of the Hūnas.

3 This possibility becomes stronger in the light of the evidence deposed by a charter found from the village Nirmand of the Kangra district of the Kullu division.²¹ It was issued some time in the seventh century by a certain Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Samudrasena and records the renewal of a grant which had earlier been made by Mahārāja Śārvavarman. T. G. Aravamuthan²² and B. P. Sinha²³ have rightly identified this Śārvavarman with Śārvavarman - the Maukharī emperor. The objection of R. S. Tripathi²⁴ that the epithets of Śārvavarman Maukharī were Paramēśvara and Mahārājādhirāja while the Śārvavarman of this record was merely a Mahārāja, does not have much force. For, sometimes imperial sovereigns were mentioned by simpler titles in the records of their own age.²⁵ We should remember that this charter was issued by a local ruler of Kangra when the Maukharī empire had ceased to exist.²⁶

4 The discovery in 1966 of the Samoli (Chamoli) rock inscription of Śārvavarman²⁷ has conclusively proved that the Uttarā-khanda region was definitely included in the empire of Śārvavarman, for it refers to him as Mahārājādhīrāja Parameśvara and records the construction of a temple and water reservoir by a Kshatriya named Naravarman during his reign. Due to some unknown reason K K Thaplyal has failed to include this inscription in his *Inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Puspabhūtis and Yaśovarman of Kanauj*, published in 1985.

Some scholars, it seems to us, have been deliberately interpreting the available evidence to negate the possibility of the Maukhari overlordship over the Puṣyabhūtis. For example, Tripathi writes that the Maukhari empire extended up to only the frontier of the Thanesar kingdom in the west²⁸. To negate the possibility of Maukhari overlordship over the Puṣyabhūtis he asserts that Śārvavarman could not have been the master of Kangra district which according to Tripathi, was certainly included in the kingdom of Thanesar. He also suggests that "the Vardhanas were not strong in this generation. Śārvavarman's undertakings against the Hūnas were a sort of help given to the Vardhanas to repel their depredations and save northern India from another Hūna upheaval"²⁹. Similarly, while discussing the Maukhari-Puṣyabhūti relations in the age of Śārvavarman Devahuti observes

The Vardhanas were not very strong at this stage, and Ādityavardhana could not have chastised the Hūnas with his limited resources. The task of curbing this menace was therefore left to the Maukharis, whose power was in ascendancy

at this time Ādityavardhana, as a lesser king, may have willingly allowed Śārvavarman to pass through his territory to repel the Hūṇas, who were in fact a greater danger to his own small kingdom than to the Maukharis of the Gangetic doab. He may even have assisted Śārvavarman in the task. The Maukharis, on their part, do not seem to have used the occasion to humiliate the Vardhanas .. ³⁰

But the logical corollary of Tripathi and Devahuti's argument is not that the Puṣyabhūti willingly allowed the Maukharis to pass through their kingdom (such things rarely, if at all, happen in actual politics), its logical corollary will be that the Puṣyabhūti were the subordinates of the Maukharis. And the evidence for this is there in the form of the Nirmand inscription of Samudrasena which proves Śārvavarman's hold over the Kangra district (Devahuti accepts the identification of the Śārvavarman of this epigraph with Śārvavarman Maukhari, but inexplicably does not accept its implications) and the Samoli rock edict of the time of Śārvavarman himself which also proves that Uttarā-khaṇḍa (and, therefore, the intervening Puṣyabhūti kingdom also) was included in the Maukhari empire. As this inscription came to light in 1966, R.S. Tripathi while writing his *History of Kanauj* in 1937, was obviously unaware of it, but it must have been known to Devahuti whose *Harṣa A Political Study* was first published in 1970. She does not mention it even in the second edition of this work published in 1983.

K.K. Thaplyal places the three predecessors of Prabhākara in c. 500-80 A.D. and, strangely enough, makes them the "feudatories of the Imperial Guptas",³¹

though the imperial Gupta hegemony in any region in the west beyond eastern U P in the post-Mihirakula period is unthinkable and, as is well-known, they themselves completely disappeared from the North Indian scene in 550-51 A D. Thaplyal, writing his book on the inscriptions of this period as late as 1985, curiously also does not make a reference to the Samoli inscription which makes Śarvavarman the ruler of the Uttarākhaṇḍa region and remains non-committal regarding the evidence of the Nirmand inscription and its implications about the suzerainty of the Maukharis over the Puṣyabhūtiś.

From the above discussion it is obvious that the Maukharis definitely ruled over U.P , Bihar and adjoining regions, but their warlike activities were spread in a much larger area encompassing Bengal, the Hīmalaya region, the Vindhya region, etc It, therefore, becomes highly likely that the three predecessors of Prabhākara-vardhana, who were their immediate neighbours and whose kingdom lay in between the Kanauj region and the Hūṇa principality, were also under the hegemony of the Maukharis. From this it logically follows that Prabhākara-vardhana was also a feudatory ruler of the Maukharis till some point of time of his reign. But till when? We believe that quite strong indications are there to show that he was under Maukhari overlordship till sometime after the marriage of his daughter Rājyaśrī with Grahavarman. Let us state our case:

1. That Prabhākara had been under Maukhari overlordship, is indicated by his description in the epigraphs of Harṣa. It is exactly similar to the description of Hari-varman as found in the Maukhari epigraphs excepting the change in the name of the deity (from

Ekacakraratha to *Cakradhara*) and the title *Mahārāja* given to him. The influence of the lines on the description of *Prabhākara* is too obvious to be ignored and suggests that the *Pusyabhūti*s copied them from the *Maukharī* epigraphs which, in the light of the evidence quoted above, would strongly suggest that the *Pusyabhūti*s had been under *Maukharī* influence.

2 That *Prabhākara* was under the overlordship of the *Maukharis* when the marriage of *Rājyaśrī* with *Grahavarman* took place is proved by a very interesting fact concerning the respective ages of *Rājyaśrī* and *Grahavarman*, first brought to light by S.R. Goyal. He points out that at the time of her marriage *Rājyaśrī* was hardly twelve years old. When *Prabhākara* arranged her marriage with *Grahavarman* he describes her as a newly grown woman (*taruṇībhūta*), nearing maturity (*yauvanārambhā*) and as one 'whose bosoms are swelling (*payodharonnatir asyāḥ*)'³² At the time of the marriage ceremony also she was 'not too tightly embraced by womanhood' (*yauvanena nātinirbharam upagūḍham*)³³ A comparison of her age with that of *Rājyavardhana* and *Harsa* also shows that she was born in c. 592 A.D. and could not have been much more than twelve years of age when her marriage took place around 603-04 A.D.³⁴ It is usually believed that at that time *Grahavarman* was also a youngman. But, according to S.R. Goyal, that was not so. He points out that according to *Bāna Divākaramitra*, a Buddhist saint, was a boyhood friend (*bālamitra*)³⁵ of *Grahavarman*. But at the time *Harṣa* met *Divākaramitra* in the *Vindhya* region shortly after the murder of *Grahavarman* in 603 A.D. The Buddhist saint had reached middle age (*madhyame vayasī vartamānam divākaramitram adrāksit*). It, therefore, follows that at the time of his marriage in 603-04 A.D.

Grahavarman also must have been of middle age (*madhyamavaya*) which can hardly mean anything less than about 35 years ³⁶ That being so, it must be admitted that he was more than twenty years older than Rājyaśrī. This by any standard cannot be regarded as something natural or normal. If Prabhākara agreed with the 'request' of more than thirty-five year old Grahavarman for marrying twelve years old Rājyaśrī with him, then one must admit that he was most likely not in a position to refuse such a 'request'. It is an eloquent proof of the subordination of the Pusyabhūti to the Maukharis up to the time of the marriage of Rājyaśrī with Grahavarman in c. 603-04 A D.

3. The manner in which Bāṇa describes Prabhākara's acceptance of the proposal of Grahavarman for this marriage, also indicates in the same direction. In the fourth chapter of his *Harsacarita*, at one place he tells us that Prabhākara came to think about the necessity of arranging the marriage of Rājyaśrī when one day he heard a man in the outer court sang an *āryā* about the anxiety created by a growing daughter in the heart of her father :

At the time of the bosoms swelling,
growing with the passing of each rainy season,
A daughter brings low her father,
like a river its bank, in a whirlpool of agitation.³⁷

Hearing this he dismissed the servants and expressed his concern to his queen Yaśomatī about the maturity of Rājyaśrī. So far this is a natural drift of events. But suddenly we are told that Prabhākara informed his wife in the same conversation that :

Now at the head of all royal houses stand the Mukharas, worshipped, like Śiva's foot-print, by all the world Of that race's pride, Avantivarman's eldest son, Grahavarman by name, who lacks not his father's virtues, a prince like the lord of planets descended upon earth, seeks our daughter Upon him, if your majesty's thoughts are likewise favourable, I propose to bestow her ³⁸

Now both these things cannot be true: Either Prabhākara got the idea that Rājyaśrī had become ripe for marriage from the āryā sung in royal court yard or he had received the message of Grahavarman seeking the hand of Rājyaśrī on which he wished to consult his queen. It may also be noted that even from the standard of that age Rājyaśrī had not become so mature as to cause an anxiety to her father. Therefore, by these literary devices Bāṇa is obviously trying to hide the fact that Prabhākara agreed to the proposal of Grahavarman because he was not in a position to refuse it though from the point of view of Rājyaśrī's age the Maukhari king was not at all a suitable match.

4. Viewed from this angle, Bāṇa's references to the Maukharis assume new significance. According to him, while apprising his queen about the message of Grahavarman, Prabhākara himself told her that "at the head of all royal houses stand the Mukharas, worshipped like Śiva's footprint by all the world",³⁹ Grahavarman is also described by him as "the lord of planets descended upon earth",⁴⁰

From the above facts it seems that Prabhākara-vardhana was still under the nominal suzerainty of the

Maukharis in c. 603-04 though it may readily be conceded that he must have been a very powerful potentate aspiring to become fully independent. It is in the light of this conclusion that we should examine the nature of his relations with the Hūṇas, Gandhāras, the king of Sindh, the Mālavas, the Lātas and the Gurjaras mentioned by Bāṇa. According to Smith Prabhākara-vardhana was 'successful' against these enemies and enhanced his status and prestige considerably.⁴¹ C. V. Vaidya supports Smith and says that he was 'undoubtedly the premier king of Northern India' who 'defeated and humbled' the powers referred to in the *Harṣacarita*.⁴² About 605 A.D. he was "by far the most powerful king in Hindustan and he was well justified in assuming the titles of Mahārājādhirāja and Paramabhṭṭāraka".⁴³ R.K. Mookerji adds that he very nearly attained "the position of an emperor by subduing or over-awing a number of countries and peoples all over Northern India".⁴⁴ On the other hand, Tripathi does not fully agree to above conclusions and opines that "it appears that in the above passage of the *Harṣacarita* we have only a poetical description of Prabhākara-vardhana's excellence and greatness as compared with the other contemporary rulers".⁴⁵ G.S. Chatterji also does not find any basis for these conquests.⁴⁶ Majumdar is of the opinion that the "poetical description leaves us in doubt whether he actually defeated these powers or was a mere threat to them".⁴⁷

Let us now discuss the 'campaigns' of Prabhākara-vardhana in some detail in the light of our conclusion that till 603-04 he was subordinate to the Maukharis and, therefore, could have become independent only towards the close of his reign.

The Hūṇas, though no longer a major danger in the time of Prabhākaravardhana, were still active enough. Rājyavardhana II, when deputed by his father to attack them, is said to have 'entered the region which blazes with Kailāśa's lustre'.⁴⁸ The success of the crown-prince against the Hūṇas may have been the basis of Bāṇa's phrase: *hūnaharīṇakesarī*, 'a lion to the Hūṇa deer', used for Prabhākaravardhana.⁴⁹ However, it is more likely that Prabhākara fought against the Hūṇas earlier as well on behalf of his Maukhari overlords. Majumdar's view that 'probably no conflict took place' is unconvincing for "long white bandages", says Bāṇa, "bound about arrow-wounds received in the battle while conquering the Hūṇas, dotted his (Rājyavardhana II's) form".⁵⁰

Prabhākaravardhana is also said to have been a threat to the king of Sindhu. But there is no reason to assume that he came into actual conflict with him. The area indicated by the term 'Sindhu' has varied from time to time. According to Devahuti, "On the basis of Hsüan-tsang's account, it may be said that the whole region from just below the great confluence of the Satluj and Indus down to the sea was politically subject to Sindh. Hsüan-tsang describes 'sintu' proper as approximately 1,167 miles 'in circuit', with its capital at 'P'i-shan-p'o-pu-lo', which Cunningham attempts to identify with Abhijanava-pura or Alor. Bāṇa is probably referring to this kingdom of Sindhu, which lay not very far south-west of Sthāṇvīśvara, and was one of the three kingdoms of Takka, Sindhu, and Gurjara which touched the boundary of the Vardhana kingdom in the west".⁵¹ Later Harṣa is said to have 'won fame by pounding a king of Sindu'.⁵²

With the Gandhāras also Prabhākaravardhana had only hostile relations. There is no reason to assume that he ever fought against them. Gandhāra was situated on the western bank of the Indus, and is to be identified with Kan-t'o-lo of Yuan Chwang.⁵³ He states that the country, with its capital at Puruṣapura (Peshawar) was subject to Kāpiśā. The northern part of the region that lay between Gandhāra and Sthāṇvīśvara was subject to Kashmir at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit to it in c. 631 A.D. But the political situation of this region, now in Pakistan, may have been quite different during the reign of Prabhākaravardhana.

No mention is made by Bāṇa of any war of Prabhākara against the Gurjaras; he was only 'a troubler of the sleep of their king'. The Gurjaras of Bāṇa also probably belonged to the Punjab, and are now represented by the Gujarat and Gujranwala districts.⁵⁴ The view that the Gurjaras of Bāṇa may be identified with the Pratihāras of Mandor (Jodhpur) whose dynasty was founded by Haricandra,⁵⁵ a Brāhmaṇa, in the middle of the sixth century A.D. is not correct because the Pratihāras of Mandor never call themselves Gurjaras and there is no reason to assume that they belonged to this tribe.

According to Bühler, Lāṭas were the Gurjaras of Bharuch. Raychaudhari, however, suggests that the Lāṭas may have reference to the Kaḷacuris who finally ousted the Later Guptas from Vidiśā in or about 608 A.D.⁵⁶ According to Vātsyāyana, the Lāṭa country represented the land between Tāptī and Māhī rivers to the west of Malwa. The Aihole inscription informs us that the Lāṭas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras were subdued by Pulakeśin II. To us it is difficult to believe that

Prabhākara conquered such a distant country as Lāṭa. At the most it may be maintained that he might have participated in some wars of the Maukharis in which Lāṭas were on the opposite side. Many other examples of this type are known. Such claims are usually based on some insignificant but concrete fact and create a great hurdle in historical reconstruction

According to Mookerji, Prabhākaravardhana's adversary in Mālava was king Śīlāditya, son and successor of Yaśodharman, whose reign came to an end about 583 A.D. He maintains that Prabhākaravardhana attacked him as a leader of a confederacy consisting of the Maukharis of Kanauj, Pusyabhūti of Thanesar and the Guptas of Eastern Malwa. It has also been maintained by him that Prabhākaravardhana "regarded himself as a special rival of Śīlāditya from the fact that his wife queen Yaśovati was the daughter of Yaśodharman Vikramāditya. Thus it was a contest between a son and a son-in-law for the Mālava imperial throne" ⁵⁷ Unfortunately Mookerji has not given any basis for such a conclusion. To us it appears that king (Devagupta) of Mālava, known to us from Harṣa's inscriptions, who was also the 'wicked lord of Mālava' who killed Grahavarman, was Prabhākara's enemy. A war against him, though indecisive, seems to have formed the basis of Bāṇa's statement.

From the above discussion it is apparent that Prabhākara's relations with his neighbours do not necessarily imply an expansion of his kingdom. With some of them - Sindhu, Gandhāra and Gurjara - he had only hostile relations; against the Hūṇas of the North he sent an expedition under his son Rājya and probably earlier took part in the Hūṇa wars of his Maukhari overlords;

against the Lātas also he at the most might have fought some wars for his Maukharī suzerains. It is only against the Mālavas that a specific mention is made about his being 'an axe for their glory'. It may imply an armed struggle probably against the rebellious Devagupta, who had forced Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to seek shelter in the Thanesar court.

Bāna refers to the coronation of Prabhākara from which B N Sharma deduces that he had become completely independent⁵⁸ But this interpretation may or may not be correct, for coronations took place of feudatory chiefs as well. Bāna, for example, refers to the coronation of a certain Kumāra (*atra devenābhīkṣitaḥ kumāraḥ*) by Harṣa apparently under his suzerainty and the Maṭraka inscriptions mention that Droṇasiṃha, who was only a feudatory chief, was coronated by the Supreme Lord, the Sole Lord, the Sole Lord of the circumference of the whole world (*akhilabhuvanamaṇḍalabhogaikasvāminā paramasvāminā svayamupahitarājyābhisekah*)⁵⁹

However, despite all this, it may be admitted that some time after the marriage of Rājyaśrī and before his death Prabhākara assumed independence and the title *mahārājādhirāja*. In the political situation of the period he could feel emboldened enough to do so. The rise of Śaśānka and the expansion of his power towards Kanauj, ultimately culminating in the murder of Grahavarman, could not have been a bolt from the blue; the process of Gauda expansion from Kāmarūpa to Kanauj must have taken several years. The Puṣyabhūti monarch must have been aware of the fact that Grahavarman, his suzerain and son-in-law, had lost Magadha and eastern U P to Śaśānka. In this situation if he chose to

proclaim himself a Mahārājādhīrāja, then the Maukharis could hardly do anything about it.

During the reign of Prabhākara the rapprochement of Vedic and Paurāṇika religion was in full swing. Like his father Ādityavardhana, who has been described as one "who by the pervading smoke of more than a hundred sacrifices turned the prime of Indra grey",⁶⁰ he was also interested in the Vedic rituals. At one place Bāṇa tells us

Beneath his rule the golden age seemed to bud forth in close packed lines of sacrificial posts, the evil time to flee in the smoke of sacrifices meandering over the sky, heaven to descend in stuccoed shrines, Dharma to blossom in white pennons waving over temple minarets, the villages to bring forth a progeny of beautiful arbors erected on their outskirts for meetings, alms' houses, inns, and women's marquees, Mount Meru to crumble in a wealth of utensils all of gold, a very cornucopia to bear fruit in bowls of riches lavished upon Brāhmana⁶¹

Personally Prabhākara was a great devotee of Āditya. The records of Harsa call him Paramādityabhakta. Bāṇa also states .

The king was by natural proclivity a devotee of the sun Day by day at sunrise he bathed, arrayed himself in white silk, wrapt his head in a white cloth, and keeling eastwards upon the ground in a circle smeared with saffron paste, presented for an offering a bunch of red lotuses

set in a pure vessel of ruby and tinged, like his own heart, with the sun's hue Solemnly at dawn, at midday, and at eve he muttered a prayer for offspring, humbly with earnest heart repeating a hymn having the sun as its centre.⁶²

According to Devahuti, the later part of this description betrays foreign, probably Persian, influence.⁶³ The presence of the Maga astrologer Tāraka in his court supports this view.

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- 6 Ganguli, D C, in *Comprehensive History of India*, III, pt I, p 241
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- 8 Sharma, *Harsa and His Times*, Varanasi, 1970, p 97.
- 9 EI XI, pp 184ff, p 195, XII, pp 15ff
- 10 Sircar, JRASB L, XI, p 72n, Sinha, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, Patna, 1954, pp 440-44, Mirashi, EI XX, p 15f Contra, Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, Banaras, 1937, p 44, Ghosh, EI XXV, p 226f
- 11 Sircar, JRASB L, XI, p 72n
- 12 Thaplyal, *Inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Puspabhūti and Yaśovarman of Kanauj*, Delhi, 1935, p 172
- 13 The view of R C. Majumdar (IC XI, p 124) that the village might not be Varunikā but Kīśoravātaka is untenable (DKM pp 136-37) Varunikā is the same as Deo-Baranark where the record is found
- 14 EI XIX, pp 15ff.

- 15 Hirananda Shastri (EI XIX, p 16) identified Śarvavarman of the Barah record with Sarva mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha while Bhandarkar (EI XVIII, p 240f) identifies him with prince Māraśarva who had his capital at Śrībhavana. But both these were petty feudatories and cannot be identified with Paramēśvara Śarvavarman. Further, Māraśarva ruled Bharuch in Gujarat. Devahuti is also of this opinion (op cit p 32)
- 16 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p 219
- 17 E G Tripathi, HK, p 53f, Devahuti, op cit p 32
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- 19 See DKM, p 198
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- 23 Sinha, op cit pp 200-03
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- 25 Cf the use of the title of mahārāja for Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I in the Mankuwar inscription (CII III, p. 47).
- 26 Thaplyal, op cit p 29, n 3
- 27 Goyal, *Maukhari-Pushyabhūti-Chālukyayugina Abhilekha*, Meerut, 1988, p 66
- 28 Tripathi, op cit p 55
- 29 ibid p 47
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- 32 HC Eng trans, p 121
- 33 ibid p 128
- 34 See Goyal, Shankar, op cit
- 35 HC, p 233
- 36 Incidentally it explains why the marriage proposal was sent to Prabhākara by Grahavarman himself and Avantivarman is not mentioned in the description of the marriage ceremony. Obviously Avantivarman was dead by that time.
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- 56 Raychaudhuri, H C., *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th ed , pp 606-67, n 2 Dubreuil also maintains that Katachuri (Kalachuri) dominions included the Lāta country in the later part of the sixth and the first decade of the seventh century A D (*Ancient History of Deccan*, p 32) D Devahuti is of the same view (*op cit* p 73)
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M SRIMANNARAYANA MURTI

FALSE PHONEMES IN PĀṆINIAN TRADITION

‘False phonemes’ are those groups of articulated sounds which are considered to be falling outside the class of phonemes admitted by the speech community of each language. Even though the number of sounds produced by human beings is very large by the variation of the place of contact (*sthāna*), type of contact, articulator (*karaṇa*) and effort (*prayatna*), each speech community imposes restrictions on its members as regards the freedom that could be availed in pronunciation. Thus what is a phoneme in one language becomes a false phoneme in another. In cases where such languages coexist being geographically related, as in bilingual areas, neither the speaker finds difficulty in pronunciation of the true and false phonemes, nor the listener fails to recognize them. But the phoneticians and the grammarians, as for example the authors of the *prāṭisākhya*s, *śikṣā*s and *vyākaraṇa*s in Indian context, take care of the distinction, to preserve the language from rapid change and to protect the ancient texts in tact in tradition.

Even in the case of true phonemes, each individual phoneme is indeed different from the same occurring elsewhere within a word. For example in *daṇḍa agram* and *dandaḥ*, the *a*-phoneme at each place is different from the other. It implies that the pronunciation of *a* is subjected to variation because of its neighboring consonants and breaks.¹ To strike a compromise Kātyāyana speaks of *ākṛti*² 'a common factor of all the phonemes' which forms the base for the identification of the genus (*jāti*). Discussions of Patañjali and Bhartṛhari hint at four grammatical speculations about phonemes, namely, 1. standard phonemes, 2. allophones, 3. *jāti-sphoṭa* and 4. false phonemes.

1. Standard Phonemes:

Standard phoneme is an 'isolate phoneme' which is pronounced in isolation by the native member belonging to the elite group (*śiṣṭa*) of the speech community. As the vocal organs of the speaker lie at rest before articulation, one can observe the positioning of the articulator (*karana*), place of contact (*sthāna*), type of contact (e.g. no-contact, partial contact, full contact), effort (*prayatna*) of the speaker. Similarly the stages in the restoration to rest can also be observed to identify the duration of time taken for the total action. The *śikṣās*, *prātiśākhya*s and grammars, including the Vedic texts theorize the phonetic and phonological modifications on the basis of these standard phonemes.

The *śikṣās* concentrate mainly on the description of the isolate forms. The *prātiśākhya*s deal with the synthesis of sounds occurring in concatenation in words and sentences. The *vyākaranas* deal with sandhis and

phonological changes including the suprasegmental phonemes like accent

The *Aksarasamāmnāya* 'list of phonemes' prefixed to the *Astādhyāyī* is one example of standard phonemes³ Inversely the speech community is taught with taboos to be disciplined to be close to these standards.

Indian traditional medicine *Āyurveda* views the tone or quality of sound with reference to pitch and strength as another feature in human speech process The *Caraka-saṃhitā* accounts for the difference of sound quality (voice) in healthy and sick persons The sound quality in healthy persons is natural and it resembles to the sound of swan (*haṃsa*), curlew (*krauñca*), the voice of a wheel (*nemi*), large kettle drum (*duṇḍubhi*), sparrow (*kalaviṅka*), crow (*kāka*), pigeon (*kapota*), and of a sort of drum called *jharjara* (which is as of splashing or dropping). These are natural sounds (*prakṛti-svaras*) found in healthy persons⁴ When a person takes ill, his voice sounds variously as that of parrot (*śuka*), low (*kala*), swallowed (*grasta*), indistinct (*avyakta*), stuttering (with involuntary repetitions of parts of phonemes) (*gadgada*), infirm (or slight) (*ksāma*), sadly (*dīna*) and crowded with involuntary repetition of phonemes (*anukīṛṇa*)⁵ These are called modified sounds (*vikṛti-svaras*) Then one phoneme uttered by a sick person may sound as many or sound as several phonemes simultaneously

2. Allophones:

Allophones are the 'corporate phonemes'. When the phonemes are pronounced in a quick sequence to maintain *saṃhitā* 'a regular form of pronunciation' no

particular phoneme can be pronounced in the same way as its isolate phoneme, for, the place of contact, type of contact, articulator and the effort are to be changed quickly so as to commensurate with the thought. Any change in the duration of articulation produces a separate sound, which of course a modern acoustician can demonstrate, if proof be needed, with his spectrograms. These durations fall logically on both sides of the standard pronunciation. Hence the standard pronunciation can also be the mean pronunciation. All such sounds which fall within the range of the standard pronunciation are considered as allophones. The Indian grammarians take these allophones as the individuals and the standard phoneme as the mean form or common element (*ākṛtī*)⁶ Expressed otherwise it tantamounts with the modern definition of phoneme as offered by Robins. "Phoneme is a class of phonetically similar sounds, contrasting and mutually exclusive with all similar classes in the language"⁷ Taking into consideration of the phonemes in relation with their role in the thought process of the speaker and his listener in communication of meaning, the *jāti-sphoṭa* is theorized by the grammarians.

3. *Jāti-sphoṭa*:⁸

In the process of articulation of speech sounds, Bhartṛhari recognizes three stages. In the first stage called *paramopāṃśu*,⁹ the phoneme is called *sphoṭa*, and it just bursts forth in the mind of the speaker without any beginning of the articulation process.¹⁰ As the phoneme is conceived in the mind, it is also called *paśyanti*. The articulation actually takes place in the second and third stages and the phoneme is called *dhvani* or *nāda*. In the second stage which is called *upāṃśu*, the phoneme is externalized in the speaker's mind by

the functioning of *prāṇa* in exhalation. The *dhvani* in this stage gets the distinctions of duration called short (*hrasva*), long (*dīrgha*) and extra-long (*pluta*).¹¹ As it is audible to the speaker, he recognizes the time sequence and phonological patterns, but he does not have any control over the duration of the phonemes. The phonemes may be made corrupt at this stage by selecting a phoneme of one duration or of one class for another of different duration or of another class. This change of phonemes results in change of meaning of a word, a sentence, a discourse or the whole text. The grammar, lexicon, etc. come to help to avoid such mistakes. Hence it is called *prākṛta-dhvanī* and also *madhyamā-vāk*, for the process of articulation is in the middle stage. The sounds get all phonological distinctions and these distinctions are intrinsic of the language.¹² In the third stage which is called *samhṛta-krama*, the phonemes become audible to the listener and hence they are also called *vaikhari-vāk*.¹³ Because of the human intervention in the delivery of phonemes, they get distinctions of rapidity (*druta*), medium (*madhyama*) and slowness (*vilambita*). External variations are caused by the velocity of the exhaled breath, speech habits of the speaker and the physiological form of the organs of articulation. So Bhartrhari calls it *vaikṛta-dhvanī*.

4. False Phonemes:

Contraction and expansion of the vocal cords, approximation of the back, blade and front of the tongue with the places of contact, positioning of the lips, opening or closing of the nasal passage, energy with which the breath is exhaled, physiological and pathological conditions of the lungs, vocal cords and buccal cavity and psychological disposition of the speaker determine

very much the nature of allophones. Only those sounds which are very close to the standard phonemes are recognized as allophones. The listener is gratified when he could easily understand his speaker, and thus the speech community is the final authority to determine the number of allophones. Expressed otherwise all such sounds which could be related to the standard phoneme are recognized as allophones and the rest are considered as false phonemes.

The number of false phonemes in any language, as Kaiyata observes, could be as many as the number of descendants in the *gotra* 'patronymic name' of a family¹⁴. These false phonemes could be classified into two classes, namely voluntary and involuntary. The voluntary false phonemes are those which are intentionally pronounced and practiced. For example Pāṇini pronounced *a* as an open vowel in the *Pratyāhāra-sūtra* *aiuṇ* with *vivṛta-prayatna* in his *akṣara-samāmnāya*. The voluntary false phonemes serve as much as the standard phonemes in an artificial or code language. These false phonemes are generated at the *prākṛta-dvaṁ* stage itself.

The involuntary false phonemes are those which are produced by the speakers because of indolence, psychological aberrations and physiological deformities. The physiological deformities are of two types, namely permanent and temporary. The permanent deformities are those which are congenital malformations like split lip, cleft palate, and unsized vocal cords, and those which occur because of age and accident leading to loss of teeth, etc. Some of these defects may be rectified by surgical intervention. Temporary deformities arise because of physical exercise, sicknesses like consumption,

ulceration of lungs (*uraḥkṣata*),¹⁵ loss of vitality, nervous diseases and diseases in the abdomen by intake of unhealthy food.¹⁶ The traditional Ayurvedic exponents of medicine and surgery like Caraka and Suśruta speak of remedies too for faulty pronunciations caused by psychological and pathological reasons. Thus these are produced in the *vaikṛta-dhvanī* in the third stage (i.e. *vaikhari-vāk*). These are called *yadṛcchā-śabdāḥ* 'involuntary sounds'.¹⁷

The false phonemes, which gain stay in the spoken dialects and in profane literatures, are aimed at to be eliminated in the ritualistic or ecclesiastical literature. Therefore the pronunciation has also fallen into the jurisdiction of religion.¹⁸ Religion in its broad sense is nothing but a package of actions combining men and materials with a tight schedule of programme covering all the time of awoken stage. Speech is one of such activities which has its influence over the social, political and religious institutions.¹⁹ The *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, 2.22 spells out clearly the need for absolutely correct articulation of phonemes without any fault in pronunciation, lest one would fail to get the strength of Indra, benevolence of Brahmā and release from death.²⁰

Consonants depend upon vowels for their pronunciation. The duration of each consonant is half that of a short vowel like *u*.²¹ Thus the falsification of spirants and stops arises by sharing the qualities of other groups. For example the spirants are falsified by two defects called *grasta* 'swallowed' and *nirasta* 'dropping'. When the partial contact of the tongue with the place of contact is less than what is required, it shares the characteristics of the vowel and thus the spirant is swallowed and merged with the vowel by which it is not properly heard.

When the contact is more than what is required it shares the qualities of the consonant leading to the merge of the spirant with the consonant, consequently amounting to complete dropping. In the case of stops, they are falsified by not maintaining the total contact (*an-abhihita*) of the tongue with places of contact.²² Thus they share the characteristics of the vowels and spirants depending up on the distance in approximation. The vowels on the other hand are the life of speech because of their independency in pronunciation and elasticity in duration ²¹

Fault in pronunciation arises because of non-synchronization of the *prākṛta-dhvaṃ* and the *vaikṛta-dhvaṃ*. In other words, while a particular phoneme has taken shape in the articulatory stage of *prākṛta-dhvaṃ*, the physiological mechanism is set for another phoneme - which may be of the same language or of any other language which the speaker is familiar with. The physiological synchronization fails because of three reasons, namely, a) faults of articulators (*karaṇas*), b) faults of proximation (*sthāna*) and c) faults of effort (*prayatna*).

Patañjali quotes two passages which list faulty pronunciations of vowels ²³ They are, 1 *saṃvṛta*, 2 *kṣvīṇa*, 3. *romaśa*, 4. *nirhata* 5 *kala*, 6. *eṇīkṛta*, 7 *ambūkṛta*, 8 *grasta*, 9 *dhmāta*, 10. *avilambita*, 11. *ardhaka*, 12 *nirasta*, 13. *sandaṣṭa*, 14 *pragīta* and 15. *upagīta*.

A. Faults of articulators:

1. *Samvṛta* (closing of articulator):

It arises when any vowel other than *a* is pronounced with closed vocal cords. The short *a* is pronounced with

minimum opening of the vocal cords. In the case of other vowels, the vocal cords are drawn wide open.²⁴

2. Kṣviṇṇa (shaking of articulators):

It arises when the articulator is shaken, as for example the tip of the tongue in the articulation of the trill *r*²⁵

3. Romaśa (mixing of articulators):

It arises from the the inadvertent movement of the articulators at different places of contact in quick succession within the pronunciation of a single vowel (as in the pronunciation of Allahabad). This results in the production of an indistinctive sound. Just as short hair covering the skin conceals its colour, short sounds of other neighboring phonemes cover the vowel and obscure it.²⁶

B. Faults of poximation:

The sonority, i.e. the capacity of giving out loud or rich sound, gets diversified by faulty positioning of articulators at wrong places of contact in the buccal cavity.

4. Nirhata (harsh):

It arises when the vowel is produced in a very harsh voice jarring to the ear by expulsion of more breath from the lungs through the larynx and buccal cavity²⁷

5. Kala (misplacing of articulator):

It arises from the positioning of the articulator at a wrong place. For example the positioning of the back,

blade and front of the tongue in wrong places make the sonority of the sound low, soft and sometimes even melodious. A melodious sound may be good in music, but it is faulty in a normal conversation. This is also called *kākalika* ²⁸

6. *Enīkṛta* (fluttered):

While in *kala* the articulator is positioned near a wrong place, in *enīkṛta* it is positioned near several places, just as the deer casts its eyes on objects of its vision. For example in the pronunciation of the vowel *o*, if the rounding of the lips is rapidly changed, a doubt arises as to whether it is the vowel *o* or *au*.²⁹

7. *Ambūkṛta* (shut off):

It arises from the total contact of the articulator with the place of articulation, resulting in total obstruction of the breath in the buccal cavity. It results in the sounding of a vowel as a voiced consonant and thus the vowel intended by the speaker can never be recognized by the listener.³⁰

Note. In the name *ambūkṛta*, *mb* is onomatopoeic sound signifying the total blocking of the buccal passage by shutting lips.³¹ *Ambu* in *ambūkṛta* may also be taken to mean water; pronunciation of vowel, filling the mouth with saliva, is impossible, for the passage cannot be opened properly.³²

8. *Grasta* (swallowed):

It arises from the total obstruction of the breath at the root of the tongue and change of articulator to

another position needed for the succeeding phoneme. It results in total inaudibility of the vowel ³³

C. Faults of effort:

These arise from the change of effort at the thorax by which the velocity of the breath exhaled also changes, leading to the change in the form of the phoneme

9. *Dhmāta* (blown up):

It arises from increasing the quantity of breath in exhalation resulting in irregular functioning of vocal cords, by which the sound pronounced is like blowing of wind ³⁴

10. *Avilambita* (hasten):

It arises when a proper time gap is not allowed between a vowel and its neighbouring sound.³⁵

11. *Ardhaka* (halfen):

It arises when the duration of the vowel is reduced to half. Vowels with the duration of half of Sanskrit vowels are obtained in some other languages. But it is a false phoneme in Sanskrit.³⁶ However it entered into Vedic also; hence "one vowel is shortened before another; *e* and *o* are also pronounced *ě* and *ő* before *ā*".³⁷

12. *Nirasta* (cast off):

It arises when no time is allowed for a vowel, which was conceptualized in the *prākṛta-dhvani*. It means that the duration of the vowel is not even half. It occurs when the sounds in a cluster are pronounced hurriedly.

The difference of sounds is observed leading to noncognition of the vowel by the listener.³⁸

13. *Sandaṣṭa* (spread out):

It arises when more time than what is required is allowed. By this the vowel appears as grown in its duration³⁹

14. *Pragīta* (sung with primary tone) :

It arises when the vowel is sung in a musical scale. Singing is a specific mode of pronunciation of diatonic and chromatic scales involving pitch, harmony and rhythm⁴⁰

15. *Upagīta* (sung with secondary tone):

When a particular vowel is sung in *pragīta*, other vowels in its neighbourhood also undergo change to a secondary tone to make the whole word or verse fit for melodious singing.⁴¹

USE OF FALSE PHONEMES

As mentioned already false phonemes are very much known to the speech community because of cross cultural interactions and horizontal and vertical migrations. So they need to be accommodated in the language under special circumstances to obtain certain special effects.⁴² Thus for example *pragīta* and *upagīta* are two faults in pronunciation of vowels. Even though such musical sounds fall outside the field of standard phonemes, they are considered legal in cases of special purposes as in the case of *sāmagāna*, etc.⁴³ These two faulty pronunciations become illegal in the case of the *sūtras*

of Pāṇini. The discussion of Patañjali confirms the employment of some faulty pronunciations in the *sūtra-pāṭhas* too. For example Pāṇini pronounced the closed (*saṃvṛta*) vowel *a* as open (*vivṛta*) on a par with the open vowel *ā* to obtain certain grammatical operations within the jurisdiction of the generation of derivatives of Sanskrit forms, and at the end he declared with the last rule *a* (Pāṇ. 8.4.68) that outside the grammatical exercise, the vowel *a* is always closed.⁴⁴ This distinction of *prakriyā* 'analysis' and *prayoga* 'usage' has given certain amount of artificiality to the language of Pāṇini's *sūtras*.

The grammarians themselves cite the example of *svarita* pronunciation to the vowels to indicate the *adhikāra* of the given *sūtra*. Jinendrabuddhi, observes that *svarita* in the rule *svaritenādhikāraḥ* (1.3.11) is not used in the technical sense as defined by *samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ* (1.2.31) and *tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam* (1.2.32); instead it is used in the sense of faulty pronunciation. So the grammatical tradition says that Pāṇini used one of the faulty pronunciations like *kala* for the vowel/vowels in a word/*sūtra*, with a code that it should be carried forward to the succeeding *sūtras*.⁴⁵ Same is the case with the nasalization of vowels in the *sūtras*.⁴⁶ Therefore came to stay valid the axiom: *pratiññānunsikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ*. As mentioned already the vowel *a* is pronounced with *vivṛta-prayatna* in the *sūtra-pāṭha*, while it is *saṃvṛta* in the Vedic and the language of common parlance.

The involuntary false phonemes (*yadṛcchā-śabdas*) are pressed into use in literature as in dramas, where certain characters are shown on the stage by imitating the speech deficiencies to produce humour, pathos,

etc ⁴⁷ Therefore certain false phonemes are also needed to be recognized in the spoken language

The foregoing discussion leads to the following conclusions

- 1 The definition of the phoneme as given by modern linguists is the same as offered by the Indian grammar
- 2 Even though the number of speech sounds a human being could produce is very large, a selection is made by each speech community restricting to a very small number for economy of effort
- 3 What is a phoneme in one language is considered as a mere human sound without any phonemic value in the other. Thus a false phoneme of a given language is invalid in that language and it can be a valid phoneme in another language. The names *enīkṛta*, etc suggest the availability of such phonemes in a local speech, a dialect, a cognate or a language of another family
- 4 Where the cross cultural contacts are available because of migrations, the speakers get habituated to pronounce the phonemes of other speeches also.
5. False phonemes enter into different languages mainly because of borrowings from other languages and partly because of physiological and pathological conditions of the speech community. The changes effected by the former method are universal and by the latter method are isolated

The false phonemes are defined and explained by the Indian phonetic and grammatical treatises to avoid newly extendible adaptations. Some of such false phonemes are used in technical languages as that of the sūtra literature of Pāṇinian grammar.

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2. आकृतिग्रहणात् सिद्धम्, *ibid* Vt 13
3. यस्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकेन ग्रहणमिति तदर्थमेतत् स्यात्, *ibid* Vt 2, p 15-16
4. हंस-क्रौञ्च-नेमि-दुन्दुभि-कलविडक-काक-कपोत-झर्झरानुकारा प्रकृतिस्वरा भवन्ति। याश्चापरानुपेक्षमाणोऽपि विद्यादनुक्तोऽन्यथा वापि निर्दिश्यमानास्तदज्ञे। शुक्-कल-ग्रहग्रस्ताव्यक्त-गदगद-क्षाम-दीनानुकीर्णाश्चातुराणां स्वरा वैकारिका भवन्ति। स्वरानेकत्वमेकस्य चानेकत्वमप्रशस्तम्, *Caraka-samhitā*, ed by Narendranath Sengupta Chawkhamba Orientalia, Varanasi, 1991 (rpt), *Indriyasthāna*, I.8, vol 3, p 2156-57.
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6. एकोऽयमकारो यश्चाक्षरसमाम्नाये यश्चानुवृत्तौ यश्च धात्वादिस्य। MB 1 1 1, Vt 5, p 16
Cf. प्रत्येक व्यञ्जका भिन्ना वर्णवाक्यपदेषु ये।
तेषामत्यन्तभेदेऽपि सङ्कीर्णा इव शक्तयः ॥
Vākyapadīya [= VP], I with *Vṛtti* of Bhartṛhari, Deccan College, Poona, 1966
वर्णपदवाक्यविषया हि विशिष्टा प्रयत्नास्तत्प्रेरिताश्च वाक्यव. स्थानान्यभिध्नन्ति। स्थानाभिधातप्राप्तसंस्काराश्च ध्वनयो यद्यपि परस्परव्यावृत्तस्वभावास्तथापि गोगवय-जात्युपव्यञ्जनवद्भ्रमणरेचनादिकर्मसामान्यविशेषाश्रयवच्च तेषामुपव्यञ्जनानां दुर्ज्ञानो भेदः। *Vṛtti* on *ibid*
7. Robins, R H *General Linguistics - An Introductory Survey*, London, Longmans, 1964, p 131
8. This term is used by Kaiyata in his commentary *Pradīpa* on the *Bhāṣya* passage *athavā ubhayataḥ sphoṭamātram nirdīśyate*,

MB 111, *Pratyāhara-sūtras* 3 & 4 *eon and aiauc*, vt 11 *sphotamātram = jātisphota ity arthah* See also *vastutah sphota eva śrotragrāhyah vāyunistharatvādinā ca tasyābhivyaktih*, Nageśa's *Udyota* thereupon Patañjali refers to *sphota* only in two places in his *Bhāṣya* - at this place and at 1170

- 9 उपाधिमतो ह्येकस्य शब्दस्य विभाग इवास्थिता सहितासहितयोर्द्वुतमध्यमविलम्बितासु वृत्तिषु शनैरुच्चैरुपाशुपरमोपाशुसहस्रक्रमेण चेति। *Vṛtti* on VP II 19
- 10 स्फोटस्याभिन्नकालस्य ध्वनिकालानुपातिनः। ग्रहणोपाधिभेदेन वृत्तिभेद प्रचक्षते॥ VP I 75.
11. स्वभावभेदान्नित्यत्वे ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतादिषु। प्राकृतस्य ध्वने. काल. शब्दस्योपचर्यते॥ VP. I. 76.
- 12 वैरवर्या मध्यमायाश्च पश्यन्त्याश्चैतददभुतम्। अनेकतीर्थभेदायास्त्वया वाच. परं पदम्॥ VP I 134.
परैः सवेद्यं यस्याः श्रोत्रविषयत्वेन प्रतिनियतं श्रुतिरूपं सा वैखरी। शिलघ्रा व्यक्तवर्णसमुच्चारणा प्रसिद्धसाधुभावा भ्रष्टसंस्कारा च। तथा च याऽक्षे या दुन्दुभौ या वेणौ या वीणायामित्यपरिमाणभेदा। मध्यमा त्वन्तः सनिवेशिनी परिगृहीतक्रमेव बुद्धिमात्रोपादाना। सा तु सूक्ष्मप्राणवृत्त्यनुगता क्रमसंहारभावेऽपि व्यक्तप्राणपरिग्रहेव केषाञ्चित्। प्रतिसहस्रक्रमा सत्यप्यभेदे समाविष्टक्रमशक्तिः पश्यन्ती। सा चलाचला प्रतिलब्धसमाधाना घावृता च विशुद्धा च, सन्निविष्टज्ञेयाकारा प्रतिलीनाकारा निराकारा च, परिच्छिन्नार्थप्रत्यवभासा संसृष्टार्थप्रत्यवभासा प्रशान्तसर्वार्थप्रत्यवभासा चेत्यपरिमाणभेदा। VP. I.134, *Vṛtti*, p 213-214
- 13 शब्दस्योर्ध्वमधिव्यक्तेर्वृत्तिभेदं तु वैकृताः। ध्वनयः समुपोहन्ते स्फोटात्मा तैर्न भिद्यते॥ VP I 77
See also. वैकृतस्तु नादो बाह्यदुतवृत्तिकालव्यवस्थां प्रकल्पयति। *Vṛtti* on VP I 101, p. 167.
- 14 स्वरदोषभावना इति। स्वरदोषगोत्राणि। *Kaṣṭha's Pradīpa* on MB. *ibid.*
- 15 Caraka says that the ulceration of the lungs occurs because of several reasons, cf.:
धनुषायस्यतोऽत्यर्थं भारमुद्धहतो गुरुम्।
पततो विषमोच्चैर्भ्यो बलिभिः सह युध्यतः॥
वृष हयं वा धावन्त दम्य वान्य निगृह्णन्त।
शिलाकाष्ठाश्मनिर्घातान् क्षिपतो निघ्नन्त परान्॥
अधीयानस्य वात्युच्चैर्दूरं वा व्रजतो दुतम्।
महानदीर्वा तरतो हयैर्वा सह धावतः॥
सहस्रोत्पततोऽत्यर्थं तूर्णं चापि प्रनृत्यत।
तथान्यै कर्मभिः क्रूरैर्भुशमभ्याहतस्य वा॥
विक्षते वक्षसि व्याधिर्बलवान् समुदीर्यते।

स्त्रीषु चातिप्रसक्तस्य रूक्षाल्पप्रमिताशिन ॥
उरो विरुज्यतेऽत्यर्थं भिद्यतेऽथ विभज्यते।

Caraka-samhitā, Cikīṭṣā-ssthāna, 11.3, pt. IV, p 2762-3

- 16 See my paper 'A Note on Articulation of Speech Sounds in Indian Phonetics', *S V U Oriental Journal*, vol. 40, pp.63-72
- 17 चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः । जातिशब्दा गुणशब्दा क्रियाशब्दा यदृच्छाशब्दाश्चतुर्था । MB 1 1 1, *Pratyāhāra-sūtra* 2, p 19
- 18 त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोऽध्ययन दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एव द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचर्याचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोऽत्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेऽवसादयन् सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्म-संस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति । ChUp 2 23 1
- 19 अमृतत्व देवेभ्य आगायानीत्यागायेत् स्वधा पितृभ्य आशा मनुष्येभ्यस्तृणोदकं पशुभ्य स्वर्गं लोकं यजमानायान्मात्मन आगायानीत्येतानि मनसा ध्यायन्प्रमत्तः स्तुवीत । ChUp 2 22 2
- Cf शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः, MB 1 1 1, *Paśpaśā*, p 8
- 20 ChUp. 2 22 3-5
- 21 Cf ह्रस्वत्व दीर्घत्व प्लुतत्वमुदात्तत्व स्वरितत्वमिति स्वरधर्माः । तथार्धमात्राकालता स्वरवशेनोदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितत्व सयोगश्चेति व्यञ्जनधर्माः । Uvata's commentary on *Rgvedaprātisākhya*, 1 5
- 22 सर्वे स्वरा घोषवन्तो बलवन्तो वक्तव्या इन्द्रे बलं ददानीति, सर्वे ऊष्माणोऽग्रस्ता अनिरस्ता विवृता वक्तव्या प्रजापतेरात्मानं परिददानीति सर्वे स्पर्शा लेशेनानभिनिहिता वक्तव्या मृत्योरात्मानं परिहराणीति । ChUp. 2 22 5
- 23 के पुनः सवृतादयः । सवृतं कलो ध्मात् एणीकृतोऽम्बूकृतोऽर्धको ग्रस्तो निरस्तः । प्रगीत उपगीत क्षिण्णो रोमश इति । अपर आह —
ग्रस्तं निरस्तमविलम्बितं निर्हतमम्बूकृतं ध्मातमथो विकम्पितम् ।
सदृष्टमेणीकृतमर्धकं द्रुतं विकीर्णमेतां स्वरदोषभावेना इति ॥ MB 1.1.1, p 14
In the above lists six names are common *Kṣvinna*, *romaśa* and *nirasta* are equal to *vikampita*, *vikīrṇa* and *druta* respectively *Pragīta* and *upagīta* in the first list and *avilambita*, *samdaṣṭa* and *nirhata* in the second list are exclusive. Thus it results in 15 faults. The *prātisākhyas*, *kośas*, etc. also list out some of these defects
- 24 एकारादीनां सवृतत्व दोषो न त्वकारस्य, तस्य सवृतगुणत्वात्; तत्र सन्ध्यक्षरेषु विवृतमेषू-
च्चार्येषु सवृतत्व दोषः । Kaṣyapa's *Pradīpa* [= KP] on MB.1 1.1, *Pratyāhāra-sūtra* 1, Vt 23
- 25 क्षिण्णं कम्पमानं इव । KP 1b1d
- 26 रोमशो गम्भीरः । KP 1b1d

- 27 निर्हतो रूक्ष । KP 1b:d
- 28 कल स्थानान्तरनिष्पन्न काक्निकत्वेन प्रसिद्ध । KP 1b:d
- 29 एणीकृतोऽविशिष्ट, किमयमोकार अथौकार इति यत्र सन्देह । KP 1b:d
- 30 अम्बूकृतो यो व्यक्तोऽप्यन्तर्मुख इव श्रूयते । KP 1b:d
- 31 M Monier-Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, q v अम्बूकृत, p 84
- 32 अम्बूकृत सनिष्ठेवम्, *Amarakośa*, I, *Vāgvarga*, 20
- 33 ग्रस्तो जिह्वामूले निगृहीत । अव्यक्त इत्यपरे । KP 1b:d
- 34 ध्मात् श्वासभूयिष्ठतया ह्रस्वोऽपि दीर्घ इव लक्ष्यते । KP 1b:d
- 35 अविलम्बित वर्णान्तरासभिन्नम् । KP 1b:d
- 36 अर्धको दीर्घोऽपि ह्रस्व इव । KP 1b:d
- 37 A A Macdonell, *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 437 Cf.
ननु च भोश्छन्दोगानां सात्यमुगिराणायनीया अर्धमेकारमर्धमोकारं चाधीयते — 'सुजाते एश्वसूनुते', 'अध्वर्यो ओद्विधि सुतम्', 'शुक्र ते एन्यद', 'यजत ते एन्यत्' — इति । पार्षदकृतिरेषा तत्रभवताम् । नैव हि लोके नान्यस्मिन् वेदेऽर्ध एकारोऽर्ध ओकारो वास्ति । MB 1 1 1, *Pratyāhāra-sūtra* 4, vt 4, p 22.
38. निरस्तो निष्ठुर. KP 1b:d.
- 39 सन्दष्टो वर्द्धितः । KP. 1b:d.
40. प्रगीतः सामवदुच्चारितः । KP. 1b:d.
41. उपगीतः समीपवर्णान्तरगीत्यानुरक्तः । KP. 1b:d.
- 42 Cf. Nāgeśa's remarks in his *Udyota*: एतत्प्रकृतिकयजन्तसमुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्यादित्यर्थं पाठश्चरितार्थो न कलादिदोष निवर्तयेदित्येव भाष्यार्थः. on समुदायानां साधुत्वं यथा स्यादिति, MB 1b:d
- 43 विनर्दि साम्नो वृणे । ChUp 2 22 1
विनर्दि विशिष्टो नर्द स्वरविशेष ऋषभकृजितसमोऽस्यास्तीति विनर्दि गानमिति वाक्यशेष । Śankara's *Bhāṣya* thereon
- 44 एव तर्ह्यष्टादशधा भिन्न निवृत्तकलादिकामवर्णस्य प्रत्यापत्तिं वक्ष्यामि । MB 1b:d
Cf विवृतमनूद्य सवृतोऽनेन विधीयते । अस्य चाष्टाध्यायी संपूर्णं प्रत्यसिद्धत्वाच्छास्त्र-दृष्ट्या विवृतत्वमस्त्येव । *Siddhāntakaumudī* on 8 4 68
- 45 स्वरितेन चिह्नेन अधिकारस्योपलक्षणीयत्वम् । यदि पारिभाषिकस्येह स्वरितस्य ग्रहणं स्यात् 'रषाभ्या नो ण समानपदे' (Pān 8 4 1) इत्यत्र णकाराणकारस्य अधिकारता न स्यात् । पारिभाषिकस्य अज्धर्मत्वात् । णकारस्यान्यत्वादिति मत्वा सर्वेषां वर्णानाम् अचा हला च स्वरिताख्यो यो वर्णधर्म गुणस्तस्येदं ग्रहणम्, न पारिभाषिकस्येति दर्शयन्नाह — स्वरितो नाम स्वरदोषो वर्णधर्म इति । वर्णधर्मस्य तु ग्रहणमधिकारावगमाय । स इह हल्यपि स्वरितासजानात् विज्ञायते । क्व पुनरस्य सदभावो भवति, क्व च वा न भवति

इत्याह — प्रतिज्ञास्वरिता पाणिनीया । प्रतिज्ञया स्वरितो येषां ते तथोक्ता । तदेतदुक्तं भवति — यत्रैव ते आचार्या स्वरितत्वं प्रतिजानते तत्रैवास्य सदभावो भवति नान्यत्रेति । तदपि प्रतिज्ञानं न अनियमेन भवति । किं तर्हि । यत्राचार्या स्मरन्ति तत्रैव भवति । स चायं धर्मः कलाद्युपमः इति वेदितव्यः । कार्यार्थमुपादीयते । कृतकार्यस्तु निवर्तते । न तु प्रयोगसमवायी भवति । *Nyāsa*, 1.3.11

- 46 उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् (1.3.2) In the *Pratyāhāra-sūtra* *lan*, *a* is pronounced with nasalization, resulting in a technical advantage of bracketing *r* and *l*. Thus *ra* in *havayavara* *t* stands for both *r* and *l*.
- 47 लृकारोपदेशः क्रियते यदृच्छाशब्दार्थोऽशक्तजानुकरणार्थः पुत्याद्यर्थश्च । यदृच्छाशब्दार्थस्तावत् । यदृच्छया कश्चिद् लृतको नाम तस्मिन् चकार्याणि यथा स्युः । दध्यलृतकाय देहि । मध्वलृतकाय देहि । उदङ्लृतकोऽगमत् । प्रत्यङ्लृतकोऽगमत् । चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः । जातिशब्दा गृणशब्दा क्रियाशब्दा यदृच्छाशब्दाश्चतुर्थाः । अशक्तजानुकरणार्थः । अशक्त्या कयाचिद्ब्राह्मण्या ऋतक इति प्रयोक्तव्ये लृतक इति प्रयुक्तम् । तस्यानुकरणं ब्राह्मण्यलृतक इत्याह कुमार्यलृतक इत्याहेति । MB 1.1.1, *Pratyāhāra-sūtra* 2, p. 19.

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I, M Srimannarayana Murti, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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R S BETAI

ANUDVEGAKARAM VĀKYAM

“Poetry is, properly speaking, a transcendental quality and we can no more define this than define a state of grace”
— Herbert Reid.

It is indeed a known fact that Sanskrit critics have given different definitions of *kāvya* at different periods of time as it happens with other criticisms in the world. As a result, several writers who criticise and even reject each other are known and we come across at least six isms with regard to poetry. We also have some very rich and original definitions of poetry from some prominent poets, who do not lag behind the critics in their originality and new ideas, their thinking is also clear and systematic as far as *kāvya* is concerned. Actually, at times their thinking is more clear than that of the poetic critics. Besides Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, the greatest of the great poets, other prominent poets who lay down their definitions are Bhāravi, Bāṇa, Bilhaṇa, Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, etc. Their views, when duly interpreted from the point of view of poetry and aesthetics,

can give lots of ideas and take us nearer to the secret of poetry and poetic creation

At the commencement of his play *Uttararāmacarita*, Bhavabhūti gives this definition of *kāvya*·

विन्देम देवतां वाचममृतामात्मनः कलाम्।¹

It would be logical if we approve of this as the best and an all-pervasive definition of *kāvya* in Sanskrit poetry. It is also possible to state that several statements of scholars, other than poets and critics, which, when interpreted from the view point of poetry, become enlightened and effective. One such statement is from the pen of the famous grammarian Punyarāja in his commentary on *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari

त्रीणि ज्योतींषि त्रयः प्रकाशाः। योऽयं जातवेदा,
यश्च पुरुषेषु आन्तरः प्रकाशः, यश्च प्रकाशयो
प्रकाशयिता शब्दाख्यः प्रकाशः तत्रैतत् उपनिबद्धम् ।

“Three are the places that constitute the sources of lustre, three are the Jyotis-lustres. One is the lustre of Agni, the other the internal lustre in the hearts of (the enlightened) human beings and the lustre named *śabda*, the lustre that enlightens two lustres mentioned here”

Here, *śabda* is designated the third lustre. This constitutes a very important and original contribution in the realms of knowledge. A similar fine statement comes from Dandin in his *Kāvyaadarśa*

इदमन्ध तम कृत्स्नं जायेत भुवनत्रयम्।
यदि शब्दाह्वयं ज्योतिरासंसारान्न दीप्यते॥ (1 4)

“All these three worlds would indulge entirely in most blinding darkness, if the lustre known as śabda does not shine forth in the entire universe”

In the *Bhagvadgītā* Yogeśvara Kṛṣṇa lays down what is known as वाङ्मय तप ‘austerity in form of speech’ This is a philosophical statement that we lay down here from the point of view of poetic criticism. It is possible to lay down this interpretation. The verse is:

अनुद्वेगकर वाक्य सत्यं प्रियहितं च यत्।

स्वाध्यायाभ्यासनं चैव वाङ्मयं तप उच्यते॥ (1 - 15)

The verse defines the *tapas* ‘austerity’ in form of speech. Every word in this verse can be interpreted from the point of view of poetics without twisting in the least any word. The interpretation that we give, keeping in view the poet’s speech, can tell us several new things and lay down new ideas.

वाङ्मयं तप (tapas comprising of speech)

Who can deny that fact that poet’s work, his poetic composition, results from the hard austerity and meditation that poetic speech is. Speech means word and the sense derived from it. We know too well that the word and sense of our language are very often totally different from the word (śabda) and sense (artha) of the poet. Word and sense do not constitute only the means of the poet, the two are not lifeless like the hammer and stone of the architect or like the paper and colours of the painter. very often it happens that on their own the two become *kāvya* in their wider sense. Probably that

is the reason why Bhāmaha, in his *Kāvyaālankāra* states
 अर्थो महितो काव्यम् This is his definition of *kāvya* That is
 again the reason why Bhavabhūti uses these words of
 amazement for the great composition of Vālmiki

एष ते काव्यार्थ

Again that is the reason why in his *Dhvanyāloka*
 Ānandavardhana states

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवे पुरा।

क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थं श्लोकं श्लोकत्वमागतं ॥ (1 5)

“That *artha* and only that is precisely the soul of
kāvya that resulted from the sorrowful words of
 the Ādikavi when the pair of Krauñca bird was
 separated, one from the other, due to pangs of
 separation”

Poets put on the wings of imagination and their *pratibhā* ‘poetic personality’ passes through the entire creative process. On seeing this and pondering over the conflicts that arise in the poet’s heart due to realities of life, one thing will become crystal clear that *kavikarma* is an acute and intense *tapas*, as acute as it can be. It is a *sādhana* and the poet is a *sādhaka* in his own realm of poetic composition and art. He refuses to accept failure at the end of his *sādhana*. He constantly labours under a fear that can be aptly expressed in these words of Eliot.

“Honestly speaking no poet is fully confident of the eternal value of his composition. It may happen that he nourishes the feeling of wasting time and passing a meaningless life”.

This is rightly expressed by the famous Shakespeare when he states

“As Imagination bodies forth
The shape of things unknown the poet’s pen
Turns to shape and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name”

This is the reason why the poet becomes a devotee and propitiator of ‘perfection’ in his poetic compositions. He always nourishes a desire to leave behind something eternal. Literary and poetic and artistic perfection evades him as ever and keeps him constantly under effort. Rightly does Kālidāsa state:

प्रायेण सामग्र्यविधौ जनानां
पराङ्मुखी विश्वसृजः प्रवृत्तिः॥²

The poet is untiringly and constantly a *sādhaka* of aesthetic relish, delight and beauty. This is his *sādhana*, an effort at depicting the innermost beauties of the eternal human feelings. Perhaps this is the reason why Shelley, in his famous poetic composition states:

“We look before and after
And pine for what is not;
Our sincerest laughter
With some pain is fraught.
Our sweetest songs are those
That tell of saddest thought”.
(To a skylark).

‘Poetry is not the product of the heat of the movement. It is the reawakening of emotions and feelings in a steady, calm state of one’s mind and inner consciousness’ (Wordsworth). That is the reason why undoubtedly it is a great *tapas*. Rightly does Rudraṭa state:

मनसि यदा सुसमाधिनि विस्फुरणमनेकधाभिधेयस्य।
अक्लिष्टानि पदानि च विभान्ति यस्यामसौ शक्तिः॥³

“When, in a mind well engrossed, there is inspiration of the matter and it shines forth in beautiful clear-cut words, this is the *pratibhā* or *śakti* of poetic creation”.

अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यम्

The words can be interpreted and grasped in two different ways: (i) ‘words that do not raise sorrow or pangs’, and (ii) ‘words that give birth to an experience of a total absence of sorrow’. Actually in almost all literatures of the world it is accepted that when a poet composes poetry, the purpose is to create an experience of delight for himself as also to transfer it to the enlightened reader. Mammāṭa knows it as सद्यः परनिर्वृति ‘instantaneous supreme ānanda. When an enlightened reader reads poetry, his purpose is to experience such uncommon extra-ordinary delight. This is a natural aim on his part. It is natural that such a poetic composition should not ultimately lead to pangs or sorrow. The poet therefore creates an atmosphere of a total absence of sorrow, that is, an atmosphere of extreme delight. If, at the time of reading a *kāvya* tears flow from the eyes of the reader, even this is desirable, ultimately to create the coveted effect. He is expected to get engrossed in delight that has yielded to his inner consciousness a unique experience. In western poetry and criticism, this is known as a unique experience of *Pathos* and *Bhava-bhūti* is specific in his statement:

एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तभेदात्।
भिन्न पृथक्पुथगिवाश्रयते विवर्तान्॥⁴

And Viśvanātha is specific in his statement.

करुणादावपि रसे जायते सुखमदभुतम्।
सचेतसामनुभवः प्रमाणं तत्र केवलम्॥⁵

“Even in case of the rasas such as *karuna*, there arises a wonderfully unique joy Here, the only proof is the experience of the enlightened”

In this matter, Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa seems to state the last word

किं कवेस्तेन काव्येन किं काण्डेन धनुष्मतः।
परस्य हृदये लग्नं न घूर्णयति यच्छिरः॥⁶

“What is the purpose, the meaning of that arrow of an expert and the poetic composition, which, when struck strong, does not shake up the head of the enemy and the heart of the enlightened reader?”

The expectation here is this. The poet is expected to yield to all enlightened readers a uniquely uncommon *ānanda* of very high level. The present words *anudvegakaram vākyaṃ* prove that a total absence of sorrow or pangs in words meaning ‘an experience of feeling totally contrary to sorrow’ or ‘an experience of extreme superhuman delight’ is what poetry brings to us. It is an experience of *ānanda* in which we get totally engrossed or lost in the present and even in future, the memory of this experience remains with us as a blessed memory.

सत्यम्

Dr K G. Saiyaddin states .

“Life at its best can never be regarded in this age, as a mechanical routine, but as a creative art; but the capacity to think intelligently is not to be treated as a luxury for a few but as an imperative necessity for all who wish to lead full and normal lives”

That is precisely the reason why if the poet in his poetic work, as a creative art is not, in his expression honest, frank and faithful, he is not a real poet. The expectation is that he should probe in and touch the deepest of the depths of the human mind and probe into and reveal its secrets. His vision pierces through the flow of time and place. It is because of this that Sanskrit poetics designates the poet as *krāntadarśī*. In the *Gītā* itself Lord Kṛṣṇa states that he is ‘Uśanas amongst the poets (कवीनामुशना. कवि). The ideal laid down is that real poet is one who, through his poetic work, offers a cup of ambrosia to man to infuse new life in him. The poet can possibly lay down the deep and subtle secrets of life before our innermost eye only if his vision is capable to do all this. The inner vision, emotion and effort, his experience and attainment, his *sādhana* and *tapas* in all truthfulness and intensity reveal that he is a genuine and natural *krāntadarśī kaviḥ*. Again, the real beauty, charm of poetry lies here. The revelation of the secrets of life in true colours comes as most naturally and in form of suggestion *vyañjanā* and *dhvani* very often automatically and in the form of *mauna* of the poet for us the *sahrdayas*. This is the truth of the poet’s

experience which betrays his poetic personality and *sādhana*. It is absolutely necessary that the poet remains true to himself, his innermost experiences, his unique magical power of imagination, to his poetic creation and the eternal realities and secrets of human life. The truth of all this will be found in his poetic experience. Only then will these words of T.S. Eliot be true to the poet as a creative artist.

“The progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality.”

प्रियहितम्

Two interpretations are possible in this word: (i) to ones liking and beneficial; (ii) beneficial to the one who is loved. Three things must become one, a unity, an identity: i. the acute experience of the poet's heart at the time of poetic creation or creative process is on within his inner self; ii. the experience and feeling suggested when the *saṃvedana* of the poet takes concrete shape in form of words, and iii. the natural acute experience that arises in the heart of the enlightened reader when the poetic feeling is communicated to it. Thus it is that for the poet, the enlightened reader and for the reader the poet are *priyajanas*, 'intimate ones'. It is just because of this that the poet Bhavabhūti looks upon the enlightened reader as the *saṃānadharmā* of the poet. A loving and emotional dialogue - *saṃvāda* - evolves between the poet and the reader. The enlightened reader covets and loves as his own the poetic composition that creates almost an identity between him and the poet. The poetic composition that yields an experience of it

is to the liking and relish of the reader. Bhatta Tauta has, in a rare statement laid down

नायकस्य कवे श्रोतु समानोऽनुभवस्ततः ।

“When the hero (of the drama), the poet and the hearer (= spectator) come to a stage of identical experience”.

Mammata lays down कान्ततुल्य उपदेश as one purpose of poetic composition, this sense is implied, though indirectly. As the enlightened reader merges himself in the flow of ambrosia (अमृतप्रवाह) that poetry yields, is there, it can be there, but the *hita* that *kāvya* yields has a far wider meaning. This is the secret of poetic speech being *priyahita*. It is therefore expected that best of the poetry, the poetic speech should be natural in flow, simple, easy to grasp and constant in flow. Poet may be defined as the visualizer of the beauties of the entire universe, as the one who experiences keenly the palpitations of the human heart and its experiences. This beauty of the universe in its expanses is loved by all hearts and conduces to the blessedness of the *sahṛdaya* when he comes to experience it. Even if the poet claims to compose for the joys of his inner self, he publishes it, he wants other sympathetic readers to experience what he had experienced. This is because the enlightened reader is one whom he loves and who loves him; their intimacy is unique. That is the reason why Abhinavagupta knows the poet's *pratibhā* in these words:

प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता ।

This is in conformity with so many views of the westerners. To illustrate just one view, Tolstoy in his *What is Art* states that art is a human activity in which one

man is in dialogue with another by certain indications. He transfers, one to the other, the feelings and experiences, that he has lived through and others to experience these same unique feelings.⁷ Wordsworth here adds "The poet is a man speaking to men who rejoices more than other men in the spirit of life that is in him"

स्वाध्यायाध्यसनम्

Poetry should be endowed with a constant study of life and human aspirations that enrich poetic compositions. Poetry leads the reader to the experience of instantaneous superhuman *ānanda*, stated to be very near what the philosophers know as *brahmānanda*; it calms down completely the sorrows of the human heart, it is faithful and true to the deepest inherent experiences and secrets of the human heart; the poetic speech is to the liking and good of both the poet and the reader. Here, it is clear that the attainments of *kāvya* on the part of the genuine poet cannot possibly arise in the absence of *svādhyāyābhyāsa*; if they are, then they sound artificial. *Svādhyāya* means reading of literature, criticism, works on philosophy, etc., i.e. any study that will directly, indirectly or even remotely influence the personality and also composition of *kāvya*. In a very wide sense this study is thinking that will nourish the *pratibhā* of the poet. This study shall be deep, subtle, pointed, basic and philosophical. Mammaṭa and others give lists, but Daṇḍin knows as *śrutam ca bahunirmalam*. Mammaṭa nicely explains it as लोककाव्यशास्त्राद्यवेक्षणान्निपुणता। For the poet, this *svādhyāya* is for life. *Svādhyāya* conduces to clarity, naturalness, firmness and maturity of poetic composition. As a result the poet seems to talk at ease.

in natural utterance, his words and sense or shades of meaning flow as if effortlessly on his part.

Poetry comes to the status of वाङ्मय तपः only when it is practised constantly. *Abhyāsa* means a constant habit of poetic composition. There is continuity in *tapas* and so should it be in poetic composition. Daṇḍin knows this as constant practice, अमन्दाभियोगः। The idea is that he should remain ever indulged in poetic composition. This is *kavīkarma* which should be regular and constant in flow. He shall compose *kāvya*s, read them in assemblies, get them tested by the qualified and experienced, as Rājaśekhara would tell us

In the manner, the definition of *vāṇmayam tapaḥ* as interpreted here makes the definition of *kāvya* and impresses upon our mind what a *tapas* 'austerity' poetic composition is. It reveals what a difficult and poetic composition is, it lays down an ideal of great poetry before us. The ultimate ideal is:

नानृषिः कवीत्युक्तः ऋषिः किल दर्शनात्।

Rightly it is stated that one who is not a ṛṣi cannot be a *kavi*, and one becomes a ṛṣi only by all-time visioning (of life in its entirety).

REFERENCES

- 1 *Uttararāmacarita*, 1 1
- 2 *Kumārasambhava*, 3 34
- 3 Rudrata's *Kāvyaṅkārā*, 1 15
- 4 *Uttararāmacarita*, 3 33
- 5 *Sāhityadarpana*, 3 4 5
- 6 *Nalacampū*, 1 5

- 7 Art is a human activity consisting in this, that one man consciously, by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings that he has lived through, and that others are infected by those feelings and experience them

N.K. SUNDARESWARAN

THE MISINTERPRETATION OF ĀRYABHATA I'S THEORY OF ROTATION OF THE EARTH

Indian Astronomy always held a geocentric concept of the universe. Moreover it is conceived that the sidereal day is caused by the rotation of the stellar sphere round the earth. It is generally assumed that there is a wind called *pravaha* in the upper regions of the space which blows the stellar sphere round from East to West. All astronomers of the *siddhāntic* period without any exception held this view To cite a few instances:

- 1 Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* states :
मेरोः समुपरि वियत्यक्षो व्योमस्थितोऽधोऽन्यः।
तत्र निबद्धो मरुता प्रवहेण भ्राम्यते भगणः॥ (III.5)

(Straight above Meru, in space, one pole is seen, the other below, placed in space. Fastened to the poles the sphere of stars is driven round by *pravaha* wind).*

* G Thibaut's translation

- 2 Lalla in his *Śisyadhīvrddhida* states .

रसतैलजलै स्वयंवह क्रियते यन्त्रमचिन्तनं यथा।
परमात्मवशेन स्वस्थिति ग्रहचक्रस्य परिभ्रमस्तथा॥ (VII.46)

(Just as a *yantra* is made to float freely by using mercury, oil and water, so the free position and the rotation of the stellar sphere are caused by the power of the Supreme Lord).

- 3 Kalattūr Comatiri states in *Golasāra*:

समघनवृत्ता भूमिः स्वयैव शक्त्या धृता मृदादिमयी।
ज्योतिर्गोळकमध्ये बिभार्ति विश्वं समन्ततो लघु॥ (II.1)
प्रत्यग्भ्रमति भचक्रं मेधीकृत्य ध्रुवं नियतम्।
चक्रकलासमसंख्यैः प्रवहेण भ्राम्यते च तत्समप्राणैः॥ (II.6)

(The earth, a regular sphere, composed by mud, etc and sustaining itself by its own power and situated at the middle of the celestial globe and supports all things around it)*

The stellar sphere is constantly revolving westwards with the two celestial poles as the apices and is rotated by the *pravaḥa* wind (completely once) in a period containing *prānas* equal in number to the minutes of arc in a circle (viz 21600) (i.e. in one sidereal day)

But Āryabhaṭa I (b. 476 A D) the father of scientific period of Indian Astronomy was not only aware of the Earth's rotation about its own imaginary axis but also had explicitly stated this in his *Āryabhaṭīya* that too

* K V Sarma's translation

not once, but at four instances. But great scholars like Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta who immediately followed Āryabhata rebuked Āryabhata for holding such a view and they vehemently attacked and refuted his theory of rotation of the Earth. Their influence over the later scholars was so strong that even the followers of Āryabhata rejected his theory of Earth's rotation. For this they misinterpreted two passages and changed the reading of the text itself at the other two instances. Only one later scholar who supported Āryabhata's theory of Earth's rotation is Prthūdakasvāmin of 9th century. The followers of Āryabhata I, who misinterpreted him were, afraid of going against the traditional view, says Prthūdaka *

Āryabhaṭīya:

Before going into the concerned passages, we shall have a general idea about the structure and contents of the work *Āryabhaṭīya*. It is the earliest extant Indian work dealing with Astronomy and Mathematics in a systematic and scientific manner. It is a concise work containing 121 verses written in a terse language, presumably for the sake of brevity. It is a collection of two separate compositions. The first one containing 13 stanzas, is called *Daśagītīkā-sūtra* by the author himself (also called as *Gītīkā-pāda*). It gives a table of astronomical parameters. The second composition is called *Āryabhatatantra* or *Āryāstaśata* (since it contains 108 Āryā verses). This composition contains three sections which go by the names *Gaṇita-pāda*,

* This misinterpretation of the text has been pointed out by K S Shukla. See his translation of *Āryabhaṭīya* pp 15, 91 and 120

Kālakriyā-pāda and *Gola-pāda*. *Ganita-pāda* deals exclusively with Mathematics, *Kālakriyā-pāda* with the reckoning of time and the *Gola-pāda* with Astronomy proper. The text was very popular all over India and as many as 19 commentaries were written on it.

The Relevant Passages:

Now the four instances at which Āryabhaṭa betrays knowledge of Earth's rotation are -

1. The third verse of *Gīṭikā-pāda* which runs as:

युगरविभगणा ख्युघृशशि
चयगियिडुशुछलकु डिशिवुण्लुष्व प्राक्।
शनिदुडिष्वगुरु खिच्युभ
कुजभदिलझनुख भृगुबुधसौराः॥

Here *ku nīśibunlṣkhr prāk* means the number of eastward rotations of the earth in a *yuga* is 1582237500. Here Āryabhaṭa clearly states that the earth rotates towards east.

- 2 In the sixth verse of *Gīṭikā-pāda* Āryabhaṭa makes an unambiguous statement as *prāṇenaiti kalām bhūḥ*, which means: "The earth moves (rotates) one minute of arc in one respiration (i.e. four seconds)".

Here he gives the speed of Earth's rotation also.

3. Again in *Kālakriyā-pāda*, while giving the number of solar years, lunar months, etc. in a *yuga*, Āryabhaṭa states: क्वावर्तश्चापि नास्त्रा। That is, the number of sidereal days in a *yuga* is the same as the number of rotations

made by the earth (which number is given in the *Gītīkā-pāda* cited above)

4 And the last instance is the ninth verse of *Golā-pāda* in which Āryabhaṭa clarifies, by using a simile that, for one who observes from the rotating Earth, the static stars look like moving round the earth

The verse runs as follows:

अनुलोमगतिर्नैस्थ. पश्यत्थचलं विलोमगं यद्वत्।
अचलानि भानि तद्वत् समपश्चिमगानि लङ्कायाम्॥

The verse is rightly translated into by K.S. Shukla as follows

Just as a man in a boat moving forward sees the stationary objects (on either side of the river) as moving backward, just so are stationary stars seen by the people at Lanka (on the Equator) as moving exactly towards the West.

Refutations made by Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta and Others :

Varāhamihira (b 505 A.D) in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* refutes the theory of Earth's rotation as.

भ्रमति भ्रमस्थितेव क्षितिरित्यपरे वदन्ति नोडुगण-
यद्येवं श्येनाद्याः न खात्पुनः स्वनिलयमाप्नुयु ।
अन्यच्च भवेदभ्रमेरह्ना भ्रमरंहसा ध्वजादीनां
नित्यं पश्चात् प्रेरणमथात्पगा स्यात् कथं भ्रमति॥ (XIII.6, 7)

Others maintain that the earth revolves as if it were placed in a revolving engine, and not the

sphere, if that were the case, falcons and others (winged creatures) could not return from the ether to their nests *

And to mention another argument, if the earth revolves in one day, flags and similar other things would, owing to the quickness of revolution, stream constantly towards the west. If the earth, on the other hand moves slowly how does it revolve (once - 24 Hours)

In the same vein, Lalla, a later scholar asks

यदिह भ्रमति क्षमा तदा स्वकुलायं कथमाप्नुयु खगाः
 इषवोऽभिनभ समुज्झिता निपतन्त स्युरपाम्पतेर्दिशि।
 पूर्वाभिमुखे भ्रमे भुवो वरुणाभिमुखो ब्रजेदघनः
 अथ मन्दगमात्तदा भवेत् कथमेकेन दिवा परिभ्रमः॥

(शिष्यधीवृद्धिदम् - मिथ्याज्ञानाध्यायः, 42, 43)

Brahmagupta (b. 598 A D) quotes Āryabhata's own text and refutes. He asks:

प्राणेनैति कला भूर्यदि तर्हि कुतो ब्रजेत् कमध्वानम्।
 आवर्तनमुर्व्याश्चेत् न पतन्ति समुच्छ्रया कस्मात्॥

If the earth moves (revolves) through one minute of arc in one respiration, from where does it start its motion and where does it go? And if it rotates (at the same place) why do tall lofty objects not fall down? *

Here it is to be noted that Brahmagupta quotes Āryabhata when he states *prāṇenaiti kalām bhūr yadi*

* G Thibaut's translation

* K S Shukla's translation

it confirms that the text as known to Brahmagupta is *prāṇenaiti kalām bhūh*

Tampering of the Text

Unable to withstand the severe attack from scholars like Brahmagupta, later scholars rejected Āryabhaṭa's theory of rotation. And commentators of Āryabhaṭa themselves changed the reading of the text. Thus right from Bhaskara I (b. 629 A.D.) all commentators have changed the reading of the second and third passages cited above as *prāṇenaiti kalām bham* and *bhāvartās cāpi nāksatrāḥ* respectively.

Now the changed reading would mean "the stellar sphere rotates one minute of arc in four seconds" and "the number of sidereal days in a yuga is the same as the number of rotations made by the stellar sphere"

Bhāskara I, in his commentary, after explaining the third passage with the reading भावर्तश्चापि नाक्षत्रा. mentions about the other reading also

Surprisingly the first passage has not been tampered, seemingly because of the difficulty posed by the meter. But all the major commentators like Bhāskara I, Sūryadevayajvan, Vataśśeri Paramesvara and Kelattūr Comātiri see themselves put to perplexity to explain the passage. The passage, as has already been noted, means that the number of eastward rotations made by the Earth in a yuga is 1582237500

Here all the commentators, after giving the right interpretation hasten to add that it is not the Earth

which rotates but the stellar sphere. The text they say, only means that the earth only appears to rotate, which in fact it does not. All of them, thus, misconceived Āryabhaṭa's theory of rotation of the Earth and misinterpreted the text. And they in support of their view quote the fourth passage (i.e. the ninth verse of *Goḷa-pāda*) which again is misinterpreted by all.

Misinterpretation

The fourth passage, i.e. the ninth verse of *Goḷa-pāda* states:

Just as a man in a boat moving forward sees the stationary objects (on either side of the river) as moving backward, just so are the stationary stars seen by the people at Lanka (on the Equator) as moving exactly towards the west.

But this is wrongly explained as:

The stars moving towards west see the stationary objects situated at the Equator of the Earth as moving (towards east) just as a man in a boat moving forward sees the stationary objects (on either side of the river) as moving backward.

In fact, Āryabhaṭa himself has paved the way for this wrong interpretation. In the very next verse (i.e. in the tenth verse of *Goḷa-pāda*) he gives a statement holding the traditional view of static Earth and rotating sphere. This may be due to either or both of the two reasons, viz. 1. he might have given this as a *pūrva-pakṣa*, 2. anticipating a severe attack from traditionalists he might have used this as a strategic defence.

In any case neither of the two verses can be ignored as interpolation since *Āryabhata-tantra* as known to Brahmagupta contained 108 verses, as he designates the work as *Āryāṣṭaśata*.

Needless to say, this caused confusion among followers and commentators. And naturally the tenth verse is used as a prime objection against the view that *Āryabhaṭa* enunciated the theory of the Earth's rotation.

Commentators Someśvara and Kelallūr Comātīri, after explaining the ninth verse in accordance with the theory of Earth's rotation sweepingly reject it as it goes against the tenth verse. All the later commentators follow Someśvara and summarily reject the theory of rotation of the Earth. But from the other three passages and from the refutation of the theory made by Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta we can make out that *Āryabhaṭa* upheld the theory of Earth's rotation. So the explanation offered by all commentators tantamounts to misinterpretation of the text.

Thus it can be seen that the later scholars misconceived *Āryabhaṭa's* theory of rotation of the Earth which resulted in misinterpretation and tampering of the text.

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A NOTE ON THE SOUTH INDIAN PANELS OF KALYĀṆASUNDARAMŪRTI

The form of Śiva as a bridegroom in his marriage with Pārvatī is known as Kalyāṇasundaramūrti, 'the form of the charming bridegroom'. The *Uttarakāmi-kāgama*, *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*, *Pūrvakāraṇāgama* and *Śilparatna* give detailed descriptions of this form of Śiva¹. These Āgamas direct that in this aspect of Śiva and Pārvatī should be shown as central figures facing east. Viṣṇu and his consorts, Lakṣmī and Bhūdevī, as the givers of the bride, should be represented. Viṣṇu should be shown standing between Śiva and Pārvatī and holding a golden pot of water ready to pour it in the hands of the bridegroom. Brahmā should be shown in the forefront, seated in *padmāsana* and performing *homa*. The *aṣṭadīkpālakas*, *siddhas*, *yakṣas*, *ṛṣis*, *gandharvas*, the *mātrīkas* and other celestial beings should be represented in the background and at proper distances. Śiva should be shown in *tribhaṅga* pose, standing firmly on the left leg and with right one a little



Plate I: Kalyāṇasundaramūrti - Lepakshi

bent and resting upon the ground. The lower right hand of the god should be stretched out to receive the right hand of Pārvatī and the left hand should be kept in *varada* pose. He should be holding *paraśu* and *mṛga* in the upper right and left hands respectively. He should be adorned with *jaṭāmakuṭa*, *hāras*, *keyūras*, *udara-bandha*, etc. Pārvatī should be shown standing to the left of Śiva. Her right arm should be stretched out to receive that of Śiva, in the act of *pāṇigrahaṅga* while her left hand holds a *nīlotpala*.² (see Plate I)

The sculptures of Kalyāṇasundaramūrti aspect of Śiva have been found in different parts of India. The most beautiful and majestic reliefs representing this form of Śiva have been found in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rock-cut structures at Ellora and Elephanta.³ In the relief that is found in the Daśāvatāra cave (No. 15) of Ellora, Śiva is holding the hands of Pārvatī. Brahmā, as an officiating priest, is sculptured in between Śiva and Pārvatī. The Dikpālas are shown hovering in the sky on their mounts. In the relief that is found in eastern gallery of the Kailāsanātha at Ellora, Śiva holds the right hand of Pārvatī with his lower right hand. Śiva is looking extremely pleasing and youthful. Pārvatī stands, in graceful posture and slightly bent face with down cast looks which make her beautiful and charming, to the right of Śiva. Brahmā, Himavān, Menā, Viṣṇu and flying Gandharvas are sculptured on either side and on the top of the divine couple.⁴ In another relief from the Rāmsvara cave at Ellora,⁵ we get a slightly different form of this aspect. In this relief, two armed Śiva is shown holding the two hands of Pārvatī with his right



Plate II

hand, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śrīdevī, Bhūdevī, Himavān and others are depicted in this relief. Interestingly Ganapati is also represented here. But instead of Viṣṇu, Himavān is shown performing the *kanyādāna* ceremony. The sculpture found in the Elephanta cave is one of the finest examples of this theme. But unfortunately, it is highly mutilated. In this sculpture Śiva is two armed. The right hand of the god is out-stretched so as to receive the hand of Pārvatī. Brahmā, flying Gandharvas, Himavān, Menā and others are represented in this relief. Here also Himavān is shown performing the *Kanyādāna* ceremony.⁶ From the above referred two panels, it is evident that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sculptors paid special attention to the *pāṇigrahaṇa* aspect in some cases and in the others *pāṇigrahaṇa* as well as *kanyādāna* ceremonies.

Bronzes, belonging to the Cōla period, representing this form of Śiva are found in the temples at Tiruvottiyūr,⁷ Kōṇērīrājapuram, Tiruvelvikkudī, etc.⁸ In the bronze of Tiruvottiyūr Śiva is shown standing on his right leg very firmly and the left is slightly raised and bent at knee. The lower right hand is outstretched to receive the right hand of Pārvatī. He holds *paraśu* and *mṛga* in the upper right and left hands and the remaining lower left hand is kept in *abhaya-mudra*. It is very interesting to note that in the Kōṇērīrājapuram bronze, Śiva feeds Nandi with his lower left hand.⁹ In all these bronzes the Cōla artists paid special attention to the *pāṇigrahaṇa* aspect, but not the *kanyādāna* element.

The most magnificent and beautiful relief of Kalyāṇasundaramūrti aspect has been found in the Vijayanagara temples at Śrīśailam, Puspagiri, Śrīkālahastī, Lepākṣī and other places. A beautiful sculpture of



Plate III

Kalyāṇasundaramūrti is found on one of the pillars of the *Kalyāṇa-maṇḍpa* of the Virabhadraśvāmī temple at Lepāksi.¹⁰ In this sculpture Śiva stands in *dvibhaṅga* posture in the centre of the relief. He is adorned with *jatāmakuta*, *katisūtra*, *yajñopavīta*, *udarabhandha*, various *hāras*, *mañjīras*, *ardhoruka*, etc. His upper right and left hands hold *paraśu* and *kṛṣṇa-mrga*. The lower left is holding the right hand of Pārvatī who is standing to the left of Śiva and the other hand is in *abhaya*. Pārvatī stands in *tribhaṅga* pose and is very tastefully ornamented. She holds a *līlākamala* in her proper left hand. A *rsi* is shown standing to the right of Śiva. The entire relief is canopied by a triforium *citratoraṇa* surmounted by a huge *kīrtimukha* motif.

In this panel also the *pāṇigrahana* aspect is well emphasized. In this respect it deviates from the *Āgamas* referred to above. Another interesting feature is that Brahmā is shown in the act of performing *homa*, Viṣṇu and his consorts as the givers of bride and the *Dikpālas* are not sculptured in the relief. But Brahmā is shown in seated posture on the other side of the same pillar and the *Dikpālas* in life size, are carved on the pillars of the same *kalyāṇa-maṇḍpa* in their respective directions.

Another similar interesting sculpture of Kalyāṇasundaramūrti is found on one of the pillars in the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍpa* of the Śrīkālahastīśvara temple.¹¹ Here the lower right hand of Śiva is holding the stretched right hand of Pārvatī (see Plate II). The entire sculpture is canopied by a semi-circular *toraṇa*. It is perfectly in accordance with the rules laid down in the *Āgamic* texts. In continuation to the above sculpture Brahmā and Visnu are carved on the other facets of the pillar.



Plate IV

(see Plates III & IV). Viṣṇu is standing and his lower hands are holding a golden pot with water ready to be poured out. It indicates the *kanyādāna* ceremony. On the other side of the pillar Brahmā is shown as performing *homa*. The *aṣṭadīkṣā* are carved on eight pillars in the same *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* in their respective directions, witnessing the marriage. Interestingly, they are mounted on their respective vehicles. The vehicles are shown in profile, except that of Nirṛti, while the *Dīkṣā* are in frontal view.

An excellent painting depicting Śiva as Kalyāṇasundaramūrti is found on the ceiling of the *Nāṭya-maṇḍapa* at Lepākṣi.¹² In this painting Śiva, Pārvatī, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, *Dīkṣā* are very graphically painted. The relief found at Śrīśailam is similar to the above one. But the only difference is being the presence of Gaṇapati and Kumāra along with other attending gods on the occasion.

The reliefs of Kalyāṇasundaramūrti, belonging to the Nāyaka period, are found in the Sundaresvara temple at Madura.¹³ In these examples, Pārvatī is offered in marriage to Śiva by Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is shown pouring water into the hands of Śiva to complete the *kanyādāna* ceremony. The other features are similar.

It should be noted here that kumāra and Gaṇeśa are found in the Raṣṭrakūṭa, Kāṇṇiga and Vijayanagara reliefs of Kalyāṇasundaramūrti. According to T.A.G. Rao, "The presence of these two children is in all probability, meant to indicate that they were not born by the union of the couple but has existed from eternity like all gods, but at a later period assumed the position of the sons of Śiva and Pārvatī".¹⁴

So far, we have discussed the representation of Kalyāṇasundaramūrti aspect of Śiva in different art traditions of South India. Regarding the significance and salient features of this aspect represented in the Vijayanagara and Nāyaka art, C. Sivaramamurti says, "In the sculptures of the Vijayanagara and Nāyaka periods, Pārvatī is depicted as standing between Viṣṇu and Śiva, the former giving her in marriage to the latter; and here the pouring water by Viṣṇu on Śiva's hand and the presenting of Pārvatī as a gift or *dāna* to Śiva emphasizes the *kanyādāna* aspect of marriage".¹⁵ But in the Vijayanagara reliefs either Viṣṇu or Himavān is represented as the giver of the bride. In the Śrīśailam relief *pāṇigrahaṇa* and *kanyādāna* aspects are represented. But it should be noted that Himavān is shown as performing the *kanyādāna* ceremony and not Viṣṇu. In the Śrīkālāhasti relief, the theme is similar to the above, but Viṣṇu is represented as the giver. In some cases, Viṣṇu is represented as the divine guest of the marriage. In the Vijayanagara reliefs the emphasis is on the *kanyādāna* aspect and also the bride Pārvatī is represented as a symbolic of the Indian bridehood.

Thus it is evident that there are certain aspects in the depiction of Kalyāṇasundaramūrti which are found only in the Vijayanagara art. Though these deviations are minor in nature they deserve our attention.

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K V VENKATESWARA RAO

ROLE OF MINOR SOCIAL PLAYS IN SANSKRIT IN SOCIAL REFORMATION

The *drśya-kāvya* is superior to the *śravya-kāvya* for its appeal to the diverse tastes of people ¹ The purpose of a drama is then fulfilled, when it is followed by all types of people with varied tastes.² The success of a drama rests in its appeal to the smallest and the lowest in the society and which imparts them the right path, entertaining them at the same time.³ Drama is a means of diversion to them who are afflicted with misery and grief, a repose to those tired of their routine work. Hence, the author of a drama is expected to keep this in mind and produce works which serve the purpose. To achieve this goal, a dramatist has got to produce the stages and conditions of people in a realistic manner ⁴ The dramatic representation consists in the imitation of a condition or state or life or the way of the world.⁵

To know what is imitation of the way of the world, it becomes imperative to know about *dharmā* or mode

of presentation. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata classifies *dharmī* into two types. One is *loka-dharmī*, i.e. 'realism' and other is *nāṭya-dharmī*, i.e. 'idealism'.⁶ After defining *nāṭya-dharmī* he asserts that *nāṭya-dharmī* is any thing peculiar to drama and which is not found exactly in the same manner in the world.⁷

Bharata's definition of *loka-dharmī* is elaborate and clear.⁸ The natural events when realistically imitated on the stage are called *loka-dharmī*; but such an imitation will have no artistic value and will not, therefore, appeal to the audience. When the same events are presented with additions and artistic distortions, they will be appealing and enjoyable. What additions or artistic distortions are to be made can be decided only by the genius of the playwright. It is evident that *loka-dharmī* cannot be vulgarity and garrulity. Bharata abolishes all vulgarity.⁹

Basing on the types of *dharmī*, Bharata defines two major types of dramatic compositions: (1) *rūpakas* and (2) *uparūpakas*. The former is divided into ten divisions¹⁰ while the latter into eighteen. From the point of view of the *loka-dharmī* and *nāṭya-dharmī*, the former variety of dramas may be classed as the *loka-dharmī* dramas and the *nāṭya-dharmī* dramas. Of these ten, *prakaraṇa*, *prahasana*, *bhāṇa* and *vīthī* are *loka-dharmī* dramas as they are the realistic types depicting the society. In other words, the above four varieties have in them more *loka-dharmī* aspect when compared to others. These are designated as minor plays because of their less number of acts. Of these too, the specimens of *vīthī* and *aṅka* are rarely found while in case of *bhāṇa* and *prahasana*, the poets' contribution is significant.

Bhāna is a monologue which depicts the main character in different states. The character of a cheat or a rogue who is a learned scholar and a voluptuous person is described in different stages and activities. He gives expression to his own experiences as well as to those of others while addressing and conversing with different unseen persons. It is a single Act play. Though *vīra* (heroic) and *śṛṅgāra* (erotic) are the sentiments depicted in a *bhāna*, in later times only *śṛṅgāra* is found described while *vīra* is completely dropped.

Prahasana is thus called because extreme laughter is caused by it. Alike *bhāna*, here also the subject matter is imaginary. The story naturally centres round persons of questionable morals. In this too, the hero is of a low character. The sentiment of humour is the prominent one, but in later *prahasanas* erotic sentiment occupied the first position. Generally, *prahasana* has only one act but, in later times two act farce plays came into being.

The contribution of South India to the field of *bhāṇas* and *prahasanas* is noteworthy, which to its credit has a few hundreds of these specimens composed between the 14th and 20th centuries A D. About forty of these dramas are said to have been written by the Andhra authors, of which only twentyfour are available now. Most of these are in manuscript form and some are even incomplete. These dramas throw abundant light on the contemporary social life of the people. This literature is not merely for the sake of pleasure. It would, no doubt, help to assess the living standards of the people in those times. Poetically also these works are excellent and most appealing.

The study of these plays reveals that the scribes are very much conscious about the then existing society

and tried to give glimpses into the social life of people. They describe customs connected with temples, entertainments and pastimes of people, the state of courtesans in the society, low morals prevailing in the society, trade and commerce, education, child marriages and dowry system, dress, ornaments and decorations of the people and so on.

Customs connected with temples:

Bhāṇas and *prahasanas* are said to have been enacted on different festive occasions of deities established in famous temples. The information about their enactment is given in the prologues of the plays. While some of these varieties were enacted in the famous temples of Āndhra, some others are said to have been enacted outside Āndhra. The authors of these plays, through the descriptions of the festivities of the deities give glimpses into the customs and essential rites that are observed in the temples. They help one to know the different temple customs, traditions and their conditions in the past and thus make an interesting study.

The *Caitra* or Spring festival has got great significance in the *bhāṇa* literature. All the *bhāṇas* are said to have been enacted on the occasion of the Spring festival of some deity. These festivals are attended by a large number of people from different quarters of the country. For example, the *Cāturīcandrikā-bhāṇa* is said to have been enacted at the time of the Spring festival of Lord Venkateśvara of Tirupati. *Bālābhoga*, i.e. offering of light tiffin and sweetmeat to Lord Venkateśvara accompanied by a dance performance by the *devadāsīs* attached to the temple,¹¹ the custom of blowing the

conch¹² and ringing the bell¹³ are described in the *Cāturīcandrikā-bhāṇa*. The presence of elephants and horses for the purpose of taking the God in procession is described in the *Rasodāra-bhāṇa*.¹⁴ It is also a custom. Various musical instruments are played at the venue.¹⁵ On the occasion of the *Vaiśākha* festival, the Lord Govindarāja situated in Tirupati is described to have been decorated with pearls, invaluable garments and is swung in swings along with his consorts.¹⁶ Similarly fanning the Lord with chowries, the car festival and other temple customs that are observed are described in a picturesque manner.¹⁷

Such references regarding the customs observed in temples are described in these minor plays

Entertainments and pastimes:

Before the advent of motion pictures man entertained himself with dramas. One cannot continuously do the same work and the mind which gets tired on account of routine work requires some diversion which our ancestors have sought in various forms of entertainments. They are very much interested in those entertainments that they have developed them to a great extent of perfection.

Of the pastimes and entertainments, some are arranged indoors while others are meant for public. The first category includes ball-play,¹⁸ rope-play,¹⁹ chess,²⁰ dice-play²¹ and swing festival.²² Under the second category come cock-fights,²³ ram-fights,²⁴ wrestling,²⁵ sword-fights²⁶ and tiger-fight,²⁷ are arranged in public. They are like the horse races of the present and have a

particular place for these entertainments. Bull entertainers,²⁸ snake charmers,²⁹ magicians³⁰ and street entertainers³¹ are those who entertain the public for earning livelihood

State of courtesans in the society:

From the minor dramatic literature, under discussion, it is possible to know the condition of *devadāsīs*, courtesans and also of prostitutes in those days. Firstly, there are *devadāsīs* who are well accomplished ladies. These ladies though appointed in temples for the sake of religious purposes, later on develop some lapses with regard to their character. The second type is that of professionals who earn money by indulging in sex. They do not possess any rules of behaviour. They are shameless and have interest only in extracting money. The third type of them are those who have degenerated and fallen into the profession of prostitution due to ill-treatment at home or negligence or early forced marriages with aged persons.

The position of courtesans is much better in those days. Separate colonies existed for them³² When a courtesan attains appropriate age, the guardians of them (generally bawds), arrange for their first stage performance. There, she is accepted as a concubine by a rich or influential person who promises several things to her. The interesting part here is that they used to execute a contract in the presence of elders of the town. In the contract are mentioned the year, day, client's village, his father's name, his name, the name of the guardian of the courtesan, the name of the courtesan, things promised, duration of the contract and also a

penalty in case of breach of the contract. The names of the copyist, witnesses (generally two), examiner, accepters and supporters are taken on the contract and they all used to sign on it ³³ The clients, however, used to offer double the amount in case of breach of their contracts.

The institution of concubinage is given protection by the rulers of those days. The execution of contracts itself is an evidence that concubinage has got legal sanction and their interests are looked after by the society and rulers. This is similar to the licensed prostitution which in later times has been adapted by some nations of the world. Men too feel proud to maintain a courtesan which is considered a status symbol.

Low morals in the society:

In the *bhāṣas* and *prahasanas*, there are references to the state of affairs of some of the people belonging to the lower strata of society. In these plays, the amorous inclinations of sensualists and rogues with the money minded courtesans are hinted at. Their habits and tastes are described in a satirical way. The degraded nature of people coming from respectable families, illegitimate contacts of some housewives with the luxurious persons in the society and the condition of unworthy sons of worthy fathers are very well brought out. The episodes and narrations that are described in these dramatic compositions are not fictitious stories but are the reflections of the conditions of those who fail to follow the norms of good conduct. They indirectly instruct readers of the dire consequences of indulging in some dangerous pursuits.

Some high class people in the society do not follow the footsteps of their ancestors and lead a care-less life. Parents take utmost care for the welfare of their offspring. They allot some shares for different purposes. Those who are traditionally sacrificers used to allot some money for the performance of sacrifices by their children. They never neglect the well-being of their children. They also used to earmark some property and money for the personal expenses of their sons and daughters but some of their offspring used to spend the entire money indulging in bad habits and completely neglect the religious as well as sacrificial rites.

Lack of proper supervision is one of the reasons for the misconduct among the younger generation. In the *Sarasakavikulānanda-bhāna*, Makaranda's statement about his own self to Bhujāṅgaśekhara is informative.³⁴ The paternal uncle of Makaranda proposes a sacrifice. He secures a sum of one thousand *dīnāras* and preserves the amount in a safe place. Makaranda spends the entire money in the company of courtesans. Some recluses are also said to have failed in following the norms of good conduct and they do not possess any purity of heart. In the *Kuhanābhaiksava-prahasana*, a recluse by name Ātmayoni falls in love with Candrarekhā, a courtesan. To a recluse love making is prohibited. Candrarekhā also proves herself to be false to Ahmadkhan by joining hands with Ātmayoni.³⁵

Such episodes depicting the degradation of people due to various reasons have been described including the evils of *kanyā-śulka* (dowry for the bride) practised in those days.

Thus, the *bhānas* and *prahasanas* while satirizing the low morals and cheap tastes of people of the different

strata of the society indirectly warns the readers of the dire consequences in indulging in such vices. These narrations, experiences and episodes provide the readers with instruction, one of the vital purposes of poetry.

Trade and commerce :

The minor Sanskrit dramatists do not fail to incorporate some useful information about trade and commerce in those days. Different kinds of liquors are sold³⁶ Along with them rabbits, fishes, tortoises and others are kept in rows for sale. Their raw flesh is also made available for sale.³⁷ Camphor is sold in big bamboo pipes and wooden boxes. Musk is sold in attractive leather cups and buffalo horns.³⁸ Agallochum is sold in ivory boxes³⁹ and saffron is heaped up at shops. Eatables include among other things sweetmeats made of wheat, rice, barley, seasamum, chick peas and others.⁴⁰ There are also cooked foods with pepper sprinkled on them. The other items kept for sale are gem-studded mirrors, flowers, spicy articles,⁴¹ scents⁴² and so on. The existence of main market and small markets is also known. Whenever men go on purchasing business their wives used to manage shops⁴³ Use of false weights and measurements by the traders and arguments on this issue are quite common.⁴⁴ Taking advantage of the weakness of their customers some merchants engage their beautiful wives in their business. Pan shops and flower shops in large numbers are located in the colonies of courtesans.⁴⁵ Money transactions in *paṇas*, *niṣkas*, *dīnāras* and *rūpyakas* are known from the *bhāṇas*. Of these some are gold coins and some are made of copper.

Education:

Music, dance and fine arts occupy an important place apart from the study of the *Vedas*. In schools these are imparted as well as at home ⁴⁶ Girls' high schools have come into existence where only girls are permitted to study.⁴⁷ Some appoint tuition masters to teach their daughters these arts. Due to immense patronage, the condition of these teachers is much better then. Fees differed depending upon the subjects taught. Both boys and girls learn fine arts. After the completion of the course musical concerts are arranged ⁴⁸ For dance performances curtains are used. First dancers enter the stage when the curtain is still to be drawn up and then a song of benediction is sung by all the artists holding *nīrājana*. The custom of throwing some flowers on audience by the dancer from behind the curtain is in practice. The dancer is seen vaguely through the transparent curtain. She sounds her bracelets and anklets to rouse curiosity among the spectators.⁴⁹ This tradition is followed even now by the *Kūcipūḍī* dancers of *Āndhra*.

Ladies are proficient in the art of drawing Rangolis.⁵⁰ Devadāsīs and courtesans are adepts in this art.

The erotic science (*Kāma-śāstra*) and such other sciences are the subjects of study by courtesans ⁵¹ The *Kokkvoka*, an important treatise dealing with the erotic science, is mentioned in the *Rasikajanarasollāsa-bhāṣa*.⁵² Those studying under a teacher used to call that teacher with the name of his subject such as *kokkvokopādhyāya*. This is because a student is not supposed to utter the name of his teacher

All the knowledge of *śāstras* is mostly available on the palm-leaves in those days. The scholars write on

palm-leaves with reed pens and preserve them for posterity. Such manuscripts are not easily readable since the writing is not legible. To read such manuscripts people used to apply some green liquid on the surface of the leaf⁵³

Child marriages and dowry system :

Some of the plays give hint to the practice of child marriages prevalent in the recent past, i.e. 18th, 19th and 20th centuries and their consequences in a very realistic manner. Girls are purchased by the rich and voluptuous people for a few hundreds of rupees from poor parents. This money is called *kanyā-śulka*, i.e. price offered to the parents for the bride. The miserable consequences of such marriages are also hinted at. This practice belongs to the time of the famous *Kanyā-śulka* a revolutionary social play in modern Telugu literature of Gurajada Appa Rao of Vizianagaram in Andhra Pradesh. This shows that Sanskrit literature has kept pace with the social problems and changes.

There are also references to *vara-śulka*,⁵⁴ i.e. price offered to the parents for the bridegroom, which is actually seen in marriages now-a-days also. But, during the 19th and 20th centuries both these practices exist in Āndhra Pradesh.

Dress, ornaments and decorations of the people:

In the course of descriptions, it is possible to get glimpses into the dress, ornaments and decorations of the people. Courtesans have a craze for the *cīnāmbaras*,

cloths made in China and imported from that country.⁵⁵ The rich also profusely wear them. Even now some very old people speak of the *cīnāmbaras* to be so subtly woven as can be inserted in a match box. This undoubtedly reveals the extraordinary skill of the weavers of those times. Now, the term *cīnāmbara* has become a popular usage and is commonly used to denote expensive cloths like silks

Ladies wear jackets of different designs – some with full hands and some half hands. Ladies from Bengal wear full hand jackets while from Andhra half.⁵⁶ The Greek ladies fair in complexion wear colorful jackets and have veils on heads.⁵⁷

Men wear turbans on heads. The rich, however, decorate them with pearls, golden chains and so on.⁵⁸ Wearing of turbans not only protect them from the hot sun but also brings a new look of dignity.

Coming to the point of ornaments, various kinds of ornaments are worn by both men and women. Wearing many kinds of gold ornaments is considered to be a sign of dignity. Of them gem studded nose ornaments,⁵⁹ ear ornaments like rings,⁶⁰ gem studded precious ornament worn in the braid called *cūḍāmaṇi* and also on the parting line of hair,⁶¹ necklaces as status symbols,⁶² chains of pearls to be worn on bosoms,⁶³ bangles made of both gold and clay worn in a row,⁶⁴ girdle, the ornament of the rich decorated with gems and small bells,⁶⁵ anklets welded with small bells,⁶⁶ are some of the ornaments worn by ladies.

Decoration is not an exclusive habit of ladies. Men also used to decorate themselves with various types of

ornaments. Of them *nakṣatra-mālā*, a chain containing stars numbering 27 and made of gold,⁶⁷ rows of beads of *tulasī* and lotus,⁶⁸ armlets and bracelets studded with gems,⁶⁹ ear ornaments in the shapes of crocodile,⁷⁰ fish and swan⁷¹ are some to mention.

The existence of inferior gold⁷² and ornaments made of brass⁷³ are known from these plays.

As regards toilette of ladies, they beautify their bodies especially bosom and cheeks with *patraracanā* also known as *makarikādi-patraracanā*.⁷⁴ They mix up different kinds of spicy articles and dyes and use it to paint varied designs like small crocodile, fish, leaves and so on. This type of decoration has been in vogue since ancient times and is adapted by ladies to attract men.

Apart from this, *citraka*, a kind of painting on the forehead,⁷⁵ *tilaka* of musk⁷⁶ and saffron dust⁷⁷ on forehead, application of turmeric dust and paste as a device to improve the complexion used by ladies,⁷⁸ fumigation of hair with perfumed powders,⁷⁹ lipsticks,⁸⁰ collyrium to eyes,⁸¹ sandal paste as a means of remedy from the heat,⁸² lac-dye to feet⁸³ – all these are used by ladies of those times.

From the foregoing account it is possible to know that the minor Sanskrit dramatists are very much socially conscious and they try their best not only to portray the conditions of the people but offer some solutions also to the then existing problems of the society at large. This is the very essence and purpose of a poetic composition in general and a drama in particular.

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BANDINAḤ SVADEŚACINTĀ
of
PAṆḌITA PRABODHA KUMAR MISHRA

I. Introduction:

Bandinaḥ Svadeśacintā is an important translated work¹ in modern Sanskrit literature. The original work is *Bandira Svadeśacintā*, a famous patriotic poem in Oriya composed by Paṇḍita Gopabandhu Das. It is an immortal creation of a *daradīkavī* 'an emotional poet'. The work bears heart-rending cries of a freedom-fighter who had sacrificed his life for the freedom of the motherland. The poem written by Das, the Oriya patriot-saint of pre-Independence days, during the jail-term of two years from 1922 to 1924 in Hazaribag Jail, tells us his reactions to men, things, places and affairs as the railway train swiftly carried him from Orissa towards Bihar. He repeatedly tells his readers not to worry about his being in jail and asks them to view the struggle for Indian independence as a moral war between the right and wrong, and his patriotic soul often cries out

in agony for the suffering millions he has left behind in Orissa, thus transforming his utterances into noble poetry His spontaneous flow of heart is reflected in his poems *Kārākavitā* written in prison and a chapter of that book of poems is translated into Sanskrit verses which is available now in the form of a book entitled *Bandinaḥ Svadeśacintā*. In this paper I have made an attempt to study this translated work

II. Paṇḍita Gopabandhu Das, the Original Author:

Pandita Gopabandhu Das (1876 - 1928), popularly known as *Utkalamani* 'the gem of Orissa' was a prominent figure in the literary history of Orissa He was an eminent national leader, freedom fighter and a poet of great popularity, the most inspiring orator, the noblest politico-social worker and most far-sighted and clear-minded educationist So far in Orissa Paṇḍita Gopabandhu was essentially a devoted servant of humanity. The patriot really started his public career as a poet. The little that he produced in his student days was so marked with individuality as to attract special recognition from no less a personality than Radhanatha Ray, the demigod of Oriya literature in those days. But, after passing out of the university, Gopabandhu became so immersed in various nationalistic activities that he completely forgot poetry, his adolescent love Gopabandhu was imprisoned in Hazaribag jail for two years from 1922 to 1924. In the lonely leisure of those years Gopabandhu came back to poetry, the old love of his student days. He wrote two small books inside the Hazaribag jail. One is *Bandira Ātmakathā* or the soliloquy of a prisoner. In this book he tells us his reactions to men, things, places and affairs. Without any attempt to heighten the effect

through embellishments of any sort, the simple verse used in this book turns into a noble poetry, charged with the galvanizing outpourings of a great heart. The other book that Gopabandhu wrote in Hazaribag jail is *Dharmapada*, describing the heroic sacrifice of his own life by the boy-architect of that name, in the interest of his class, while engaged in the construction of the temple Konarka. These two poems have become as popular in Orissa as folk-poetry. Artistically they are not of a very high order, but what moves the ordinary reader so deeply about them is the nobility of the ideals and the purity of emotions they expressed. Gopabandhu and his associate took up literature as the means of propagating their ideas and ideals. They wrote histories, poems, plays and innumerable essays in their zeal to awaken in the hearts of their people a patriotic consciousness, the desire to live again as free men and revive the glories of their forebears. The result has been quite an appreciable body of literary works with a distinction of its own.

III. Content of the Poem:

The poem begins with a touching description of the sweet and cold wind which is blowing slowly and slowly outside. The jasmine flowers are smiling in happiness and the mad bees are plying with them happily. That wind is sometimes entering into the room of the jail like a secret messenger through the small holes of window and hides himself immediately only after giving the secret information. The poet becomes happy by its soft touch. Some memories of past days come to his mind. The poet especially remembers the evening when he was moving in the bank of the river Bhārgavī at his young age. By the touch of that wind the waves in that river

are also dancing The women folk from the nearby village come and collect water The poet remembers the cowherd boys who come back to the village with cows at evening and at that time play flute in a very sweet voice The marketers come back also to their villages after finishing their work of marketing. Young maidens come to the temple of goddess Yogeśvarī and offer their *pūjā* Then some of them make quarrels with each other, some play different types of games and some collect flowers of Bakula Somewhere a brother with a heavy load of things goes with his sister to leave her at the house of her father-in-law on a bridge and when evening comes he orders her to put her steps quickly A young lady with a child in her hands is not able to walk quickly because of the heaviness of her thigh and looking at such an interesting scene the naughty boys of the village laugh at her Birds (*vadurī*) come flying from different places and get together on the branches of *punāṅga* (a kind of tree) loaded with ripe fruits.

All those incidents which were happening at home like the treatment of guests, offering *pūjā* to deities come to the mind of our poet, but he consoles himself by saying that there is no point in remembering all those things in a jail

Then the poet addresses to the wind of spring and requests to give him the news of the southern part of Orissa and by that to make him happy The poet being extremely happy considers the wind to be a messenger and thinks that he might have met some of his relatives and might have collected important information on his way of coming. Then the poet imagines that the wind has come on a particular route and visited the places like Śrīksetranīlācala (the place of the Lord

Jagannātha), Satyabādikuñja, Śākhigopal (Gopīnāth), the Āśram of the poet, river Rusikulyā, Cilikā (a beautiful lake of Orissa), the temple of Liṅgarāja, Khaṇḍagiri, Mahānadi at Cuttack, Bārabatī (a fort on the bank of the river Mahānadi) By addressing to the wind the poet expresses his love for his native places, his sympathy for the poor and downtrodden. He also expresses his agony and feelings of sorrow about the downfall of Orissan culture and heritage. He wants to know from the mouth of the wind about the problems of the farmers and the people of forests. At the end the poet requests the wind by saying that he has visited many a place of religious merits and he should touch his head and make his heart cold which is burning by the fire of sorrow in the jail.

IV. The Translated Work:

Bandinah Svadeśacintā is a small work of seventyone pages. There are only seventyone verses. The special characteristic feature of this work is that it includes Sanskrit translation in verse in Devanāgarī, original Oriya version in Hindī, and in Oriya and also the Sanskrit version in Oriya, perhaps, to give it a big shape, and to some extent, facilitate the readers. At the end on page 69 a list of *Subhāṣitas* (Gopabandhu's good, noble and inspiring sayings) is appended. The verses are composed in the metres, viz. *Mandākrāntā*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Upajāti*, *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*. The translator has tried his best to express the thoughts and feelings of the original author as exactly as possible. He has exhibited his talent in his translation in maintaining Gopabandhu's original thoughts and lucid style. It is interesting to say that Paṇḍita Miśra has maintained

the same rhythm in his translation what we find in the original poem The work begins with.

मन्दश्चायं मधुरमलय शीतलो वाति सारः
मल्लीवाला स्मितमुकुलिता दोलिता भृङ्गरङ्गैः।
लभ्यो वातायनपरिसरे माधवो वक्रभङ्ग्या
किम्वा गुप्तश्चर इव वहिर्वार्त्तिकां याति दत्वा॥ (p. 1.)

V. The Translator:

The translator Pandita Probodha Kumar Mishra is an Oriya His place of birth is Sarapada, a village at Bodhanga in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. He had passed *Śāstrī*, *Sāhityācārya*, Sanskrit *Bīśārada* and *Rāṣṭrabhāṣākobīda*. He is an eminent Sanskrit poet and scholar He is serving in some Sanskrit Vidyālaya and offering his valuable services towards the pious cause of Sanskrit language and literature.

VI. Significant Features of the Work:

The poem has some significant features which have made it very popular In the following verses we will see how poet's delicate heart feels heavy pain and becomes very eager to know the conditions of the poor and neglected farmers who toil hard on their land but are unable to feed even their children in peace.

चक्रावर्तैर्गुरुपरिगतैः धूलिपत्राणि नीत्वा
व्योम्नि प्रेम्णा चरसि वहते! ह्युत्तराशामवाप्य।
हृष्टं किम्वा जनगणसुखं दुःखकं तत्प्रदेशे
तेषां चित्ते पतिनवनवं चेतनं लक्ष्यसे किम्॥ (p. 59.)

Whirling the dead leaves, twigs and the dust
of the red earth up into the sky,
Ready to move northward
you must have looked in playful glee.

Tell me, O wind, what you saw there
in the dark land, the story of the poor
Do those people suffer still?
Or have they been awakened to their lot?

स्वक्षत्रे यः जनयति कृषिद्रव्यकं दुःखदीर्णः
दारासुतैः सह बत! कदा तुष्ट-चित्तं भुनक्ति ?
को राजा नो गणयति सखे! पुत्रवल्लोकजातं
राज्यप्राणां निखिलसुखदां लोकते न प्रजां तु ॥ (p. 60.)

The farmer toiling hard on his land,
bearing the pain of the sun and the rain,
is he able to feed his children
without any fear of the ruler?

Does the ruler there think for a moment:
'They are my children, my kith and kin,
their well-being is my life's aim,
in their happiness lies my own?'

विना प्रजाशक्तिमिहास्ति नो गतिः
नृपस्य वा श्वेनकपोतभावकः ।
प्राजालोदबिन्दुभिरेव शोभते
सुराज्यसिन्धुर्नृप एव धारकः ॥ (p. 69.)

'Where does the ruler's strength lie
if not in the people he rules?'
The ruler is not to the ruled, never,
what the hawk is to the dove.
People are drops of water, but together
they form the ocean of the State.
The ruler is but a current, nothing more.

प्रजा तु यत्रातिभयेन 'भोज्यकं'
प्रदाय कालं नयति स्फुटं सखे! ।
न जीवने चास्ति धनेऽधिकारकः
कथाऽधिकारोऽपि तथा विडम्बितः ॥ (p. 52.)

The people of that land offer
worship and sacrifices to their deities,
and pass their days in fear.
No voice they have to protest against oppression
and their lives and property are not their own.

यस्मिन् वंशे कथमपि न वा दृश्यते क्षीणपुण्यात्
सौभाग्यं तत् प्रमदविधुरा राजलोकस्तथाऽपि।
ग्रीष्मे शैले ज्वलति हुतभुक् वर्षकी लोकपूर्या
स्थानं चान्यत् सरति तु पशुः क्वैव शक्तिः प्रजानाम्॥ (p. 53.)

Having done no good to anyone ever,
the family of the rulers of the land has had
no luck, no love, no happiness.
Still its members do indulge in drinking
the dark wine of cunning and craft,
and close their eyes to life's realities.

Forest fires blaze in summer alone,
but the people suffer all the year through.

Now, the following verses give us a clear picture of a poet who remembers birds, animals, flowers, fruits, ponds and lakes and expresses his love and sympathy for all of them. He declares that all that is sweet and simple in man derives from Nature and is cast in her mould. For him, the world of nature is the abode of Laksmī, or beauty. It is sacred, beautiful and wondrous. There is none to rule or to be ruled. So Nature is heavenly, divine and pure.

स्वच्छन्दं वा प्रसरति गिरेः पादयोः स्वच्छधारा
हीराहारभ्रममनुरणन् 'शुभ्रतोया' प्रवाहः।
नित्यं गान्तः पिकशुकखगाः चक्रवाकाः मरालाः
नानापुष्पैः मधुरविपिनं यत्र रागं तनोति॥ (p. 54.)

There at the feet of the mountains flow
freely and ever-transparent streams
The bright-bodied river flows there,
a string of diamonds around the forest's neck

Every day the birds sing –
cuckoos, *cakravākas*, cranes
and geese, parrots and mynahs
Decked with many a flower and fruit
the forest arouses in the human heart
sacred feelings of sympathy and love

सरसि दोलितशुभ्रसरोरुहे
भ्रमर एव सुगुञ्जति मञ्जुलम्।
विहरतीह च कृष्णमृगव्रजः
सुतटिनीतटकानन उत्सुकात्॥ (p. 55)

In ponds and lakes sway white lotuses,
bhramaras hum their soft, sweet tunes.
The *kṛṣṇasāra* deer roam playful and free
in the verdant lawns on the river bank.

नित्या साध्वी सुरतरुगता मालती माधवी च
सदभार्यावत् पथिकहृदयं स्निग्धछायाप्रदानै ।
शस्योद्भारैः विहसति मही श्यामला तोषयन्ती
माधुर्यं वा सरलतरलं दिव्यरागप्रसन्नम्॥ (p. 56.)

The kind-hearted *mālatī* and *mādhavī* creepers
in the arms of the deodars and teaks,
like loyal and ideal housewives, comfort
the wayfarer with cool shades

There the green earth always smiles,
her body adorned with tender plants
All that is sweet and simple in man
derives from Nature and is cast in her mould

विचित्रचित्र कमलालयः सदा
 निसर्गकासद्युतिरेव मोहिनी।
 पवित्रितं यत् सकलं कलान्वितं
 प्रभावमुक्तं ननु शासकस्य वा॥ (p. 57.)

Sacred and beautiful, the abode of Lakṣmī,
 wondrous is the world of Nature
 None is therein to rule or to be ruled.
 So is she heavenly, divine and pure.

वनादवनान्ते खलु कन्दरे सखे!
 सलीलगत्या वहसि स्वभावतः।
 कदा च तप्तस्तु सुशीतल कदा
 कदा तु रौद्रातपजर्जरो भवन्॥ (p 58)

You must have moved from forest to forest
 from vale to vale, undeterred, free,
 blowing warm here and cold
 there and hot elsewhere.

The poet remembers Khandagiri, a broken hill, the city of Cuttack, the river Mahanandi and the fort Barabati. He feels pain in saying that the Barabati, which was the abode of the heroes of Utkal got changed into a grave of valor and courage. He addresses the wind who was a witness of the glorious victory of the king, Gajapati when he had returned from his battle and it is that wind who had carried all those sounds of his victory in all ten directions. All these make us aware of our past glory. A poet who is a helpless creature in a jail does not find any other way except remembering all those noble incidents and expressing it through his poems to create social consciousness.

उन्मुक्तायां वियति रचयन् खण्डशैलस्य रीतिं
मार्गे रुद्ध कथमपि महानिम्नगाभिः स्वभावात्।
वेगव्याजप्रगुणितगति ह्यादृतिं नो त्यजेस्त्वं
प्रेम्णा पार्श्वैः क्षणमपि जनः कर्मठश्चेद विलम्बी॥ (p. 42.)

You must have flown in joy, in style
in the vast open sky above the Khandagiri hills
Did Cuttack stop you on the way?
Did the river Mahanadi,
attired in blue waters?

You must have pretended haste and hurry
her friendly welcome you could not reject
However busy, one lingers about,
before finally parting with one's love

वक्षः स्फीतं ननु विचलितो वीचिहारस्तु तस्याः
तीरे शष्पाः स्मितसुविनताः वीक्ष्य चाङ्गे विकारम्।
लोके या त्वं ह्युपगतशुचा सर्वथा 'वारवाटी'
शूरव्रातप्रवारवसुधा शैर्यहीनाद्य भाति॥ (p. 43.)

Mahanadi's heart must have swollen with joy,
the waves must have risen high,
the islands must have lowered their heads
and shyly smiled at her reactions.

There you must have seen the Barabati fort
and felt very sad to see it in ruins
Once the abode of the heroes of Utkal.
now it's the grave of valour and courage.

कालो यातो नवतलगृहे भूपयात्रावकाशे
राज्ञ तावत् स्पृशति पवनं स्वेदसिक्तं च भालम्।
विन्दुव्रातं लपनभरितं नेत्रमार्गावलीढं
सिंचच्छीतप्रसरसरणैः मौक्तिकं तत् जहार॥ (p. 44.)

There in the nine-storeyed palace once,
when for battle the king was leaving,
a breeze carried forth the river water.

and sprinkled it on the queen's sweating brow.
All those drops of love's nectar,
the moons that glistened in her eyes,
the breeze carefully gathered those pearls,
without spilling a single one on the floor,
and took all of them away with him.

जित्वा युद्धं गजपतिरहो ह्यागतः जैत्रघोषैः
अर्घ्यस्थाल्या नृपतिमहिषी वन्दते स्मालिसंघैः।
भेर्यस्तूर्य्यः मलया नर्दिताः कम्पितं केतनं च
जैत्रोदघोषं नयसि विदिशं त्वं नु वासन्तरम्य॥ (p. 45.)

When the Gajapati returned from battle
and victory was so loudly proclaimed,
the queen and her maids greeted him
with flowers and lamps in golden plates.
Conches, pipes and flutes blew,
the banner of victory flew high in the sky.
O wind, you carried those sounds of victory
in all ten directions, echoing loud.

वन्दापनादीप्तप्रदीपनर्त्तनैः
वामाङ्गवासः प्रविकम्पनैस्तथा।
सम्मोदिता भव्यवराङ्गनाततिः
त्वदधृष्टतायै व्यपदेशरोषिणी॥ (p. 46.)

सौभाग्यरङ्गे खलु तत्र वात! वा
दिष्टया सुरम्यं ह्यभिनीतमादरम्।
हा! वारवाटीमधुना विलोकसे
स्वप्नं नु सत्यं किमहो निबोध मे॥ (p. 47.)

You made all those lamps dance,
and women's sarees fall from their heads;
naughty as you were, O wind,
those fair ladies chided you
albeit in pretended anger.

You had played a role in that glorious drama
at the Barabatī fort in the past,
and now you see the palace in ruins
who can say it's real or just a bad dream!

Subhāṣitas:

स्वदेशभूमौ ननु लीयतां तनुः
स्वदेशलोकाः मम यान्तु पृष्ठतः।
स्वराज्यमार्गे यदि गर्त्तमस्ति वा
मदस्थिमांसे परिपूर्णमस्तु तत् ॥ 1 ॥

कुपौरुष कातरतामलामसं
रणेन वीरः म्रियते च मारयेत।
न वीरभालेऽस्ति नु पृष्ठभङ्गतो
न वा म्रियेत स्फुटभीतिशङ्कितैः ॥ 2 ॥

प्रजार्थसृष्टि विहिता स्वयम्भुवा
प्रजार्थवृष्टिर्निहिता शुचिस्वरैः।
प्रजार्थमेवं रविचन्द्रतारका
प्रजाशिवार्थं तटिनीप्रवाहकः ॥ 3 ॥

VII. Appraisal of the Work:

As we all know translation is a very difficult task and that too of a piece of poem into Sanskrit from regional language. But Paṇḍita Mishra has achieved tremendous success in his endeavor and gave us an interesting piece

of translation which gives a special aesthetic pleasure. The striking feature of this work is that he has been able to express exactly author's feelings and thinking with same amount of sensitivity. His language is as flowing as it is in Oriya. The style is simple and lucid. Another noteworthy feature of this work is that while the original author has used only one metre throughout the work for expressing his feelings, the translator has used five Sanskrit metres, viz. *Mandākrāntā*, *Vasantatilakā*, *Upajāti*, *Indravajrā*, and *Upendravajrā*. He has also maintained all those figures of speech in his translation. A good translation must be faithful to the original and avoid the pitfalls of over-expressions. The excellence of thought and the beauty of expression of the original should not be loosed in the rendering. The translator should not also be tempted to indulge in elaboration of extra ornamentation in his attempt to improve upon the original. But our translator has kept all these points in view and the result is a fine piece of literary creation. It is old but in a new form and in a new dress. But the beauty is as young as it is in the old creation.

VIII. Conclusion:

Paṇḍita Prabodha Kumar's translation of Utkalamanī Gopabandhu's Oriya poem, *Vandira Svadeśacintā* for the first time is undoubtedly an important contribution to the field of modern Sanskrit literature. As far as I know, nobody has made such an attempt to translate any Oriya *kāvya* into Sanskrit. It is, therefore, true that Paṇḍita Prabodha Kumar's such an attempt is of special importance in this direction. His effort is highly successful and deserve our hearty appreciation. By doing this he has not only brought this small but

valuable piece of Gopabanahu's immortal poem to the scholarly world of Sanskritists and the lovers of literature but also enriched the existing stock of modern Sanskrit literature. From this point of view Prabodha Kumar has given commendable service to the literature of our divine language.

TEXTS AND STUDIES

THE CULTURAL LINKAGES OF INDIA

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THE CULTURAL LINKAGES OF INDIA

India is a "state of being", in the words of Katalleen Raine, the Queen's Poet of the United Kingdom. She further asks: "how should I be able to read the enigma of India that draws me by the majestic splendour of its thought." India is the fire of yesteryears and the cold of today that flare up within to create a realm of values. She has been the seeing beyond, that has populated the lives of countless generations to re-trieve and to re-live the openness of depths, and the heights of profound reciprocities. She has been rooted in the "eyes of life" whose opening has moved her to eternal wandering :

What I shall never know
I must make known
Where travellers never went
Is my domain

The *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* speaks of the Sun who is not wearied by his wanderings and exhorts humans to wander, to tread unknown ways. The cultured of the pathways is inherent in the Sanskrit word for noble *ārya* which is related to the root *ri* 'to go, wander, move, rise, tend upwards'. This word is at the base of the names of Iran and Ireland, as noble lands. The earliest cultural linkages of India are to the countries to her west. The word for god in the four major groups of European languages are :

- 1 Greek *theos*
- 2 German *gott*, English and Dutch *god*, Swedish *gud*
- 3 Russian and Polish *bog*, Czech *buh*
- 4 Latin *deus*, Italian and Spanish *dio*, French *dieu*

The Greek *theos* is cognate to Vedic *dhusnyaḥ*, English *god*, etc. are from Sanskrit (*g*)*huta* 'the invoked being', Russian *bog* is Sanskrit *bhaga* 'dispenser of good fortune, dignity, majesty' or *bhagavān*, and the Latin *deus* is Sanskrit *deva* 'heavenly, divine, god'. Common words and similarities of grammatical structure of European languages and Sanskrit are striking and are fruitful and frightful areas of research and debate. The dative plural of Sanskrit *agni* is *agnibhyas* and the corresponding Latin form is *ignibus*. The dispersion of Sanskrit has influenced vast populations and in the process created cultural horizons that continue down to the present. The festival of Greek words flows through the dreams of science new demands in scientific parlance are met by borrowing Greek words (e.g. electronics). The word democracy is Greek. *demos* 'people' and *kratos* 'power' akin to Sanskrit *kratu*. The god *Ouranos* in Homer is Sanskrit *Varuna* and *Zeus* is Sanskrit *Dyaus* 'Sky', *Dyaus pitar* 'Sky the Father' or *Jupiter*. Nouns of the type *dusmenes* 'ill-affected' = Sanskrit *durmanas* 'dispirited', exist in Greek and Sanskrit. The sacred flames are brought from Mount Olympus during the olympic games. They are ancient sacrificial flames of Zeus who is the patron of Olympia. Sky the Father and Earth the Mother (*dyauḥ pitā pṛthivī mātā*) of the *Rgveda* live on in the olympic fires of Zeus and in the Russian war-cry *zhiviot rodina mat* 'May Mother Earth Live' which electrified Stalin's Soviet Union to heroic victory against heavy odds from the depths of its soul:

zhivvyot 'may live' (Vedic *jīvyāt*), *rodina* (Vedic *rodasī*) and *mat* 'mother' (Vedic *mātā*) It awoke the primal source of the mind of Russia, the force of moods and rhythms of timeless ages. It enshrined the fragments of metaphors in Rgvedic strands. It was the thrust of the eternal summoning the Russians to supreme sacrifice. Sanskrit is the fire and passion of stunning march across immense spaces. It was the greatest cultural event that changed the mind of Europe for ever. It was the creation of the new dream-space and dream-time. In the nineteenth century the Europeans discovered the very Roots of Europe in the most ancient classicity of Sanskrit. The names of major rivers of Europe are from the Vedic *danu* 'river': Don, Donets, Dnieper (from *danu aparā* 'river to the rear') and Dniester. The Celtic name of Danube is also built from the same base. The hydronymic system affords a peep into the march of Sanskritic vocabulary from the East to the West. This thrust is also evidenced by the Homeric epic. The names of rivers in the Baltic region like the rivers Indura, Indra, Indus can be explained with reference to Sanskrit *indu* 'drops'. Indra is the presiding deity of rains in India. Winternitz says: "if we wish to learn to understand the beginnings of our own culture, we must go to India, where the oldest literature of an Indo-European people is preserved". The *Oxford English Dictionary* in 13 volumes took the etymologies of English words back to Sanskrit, e.g. the word *thousand* has the base *teus* from Sanskrit *tavas* 'strong, energetic' and *hundred*. Europe found a new identity in the majestic and mysterious syllables from the dawn of time in Sanskrit. To cite the Nobel Laureate poet Pablo Neruda: "deracination of human beings leads to frustration...." Discovery of super classical

roots in Sanskrit became the deep-rooted vitality of European languages in the nineteenth century.

Cuneiform tablets discovered by Hugo Winckler in 1907 at Boghazkoi in Turkey record treaties between the kings of Mitanni and of the Hittites about 1400 B C. The names of deities called to witness them are Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatya of the Rgvedic pantheon. The names of kings like *Shurias* 'sun' or Sūrya, or queen *Shimalia* 'queen of the snow mountains' or Hīmālaya indicate the presence of Vedic royalty. In the History of upper Mesopotamia in the second millennium B C, entitled *Aram Naharaim*, published by Vatican's Pontific Institute of the Bible, in 1948, eightyone royal names in Mesopotamia are listed by P.E. Dumont as Vedic. These personal names point to a remarkable cultural symbiosis of the Indians with the Hurrians, Mitanni and Nuzu. Among them is king of Mitanni Tvishrata which is the Vedic *Tviṣ-ratha* 'having the chariot of splendour or terror' Another Mitanni king has the name Saushsatar = Vedic *saukṣatra* 'ruling well'. The Vedic fire-god Agni is mentioned in the Hittite texts. The treatise on horsetraining by Kikkuli of Mitanni has Sanskrit technical expressions for laps of racing, e.g. *ekavartana*.

The Central Asian states emerged under Indian influences. Khotan has been famed for centuries for its gold and jade. Its silk industry is of legendary antiquity. All the four accounts of its foundation in Chinese and in Tibetan associate its foundation with the son and ministers of Aśoka in the third century B C. The Chinese came in contact with Khotan after the conquest of the Tarim basin by Han Wu-ti (140-87 B C). Indications of the coexistence of the Indians and Chinese is attested by coins of the first century A D bearing Chinese

legends on the obverse and Indian legends on the reverse. Royal power was transmitted without interruption from the foundation. Buddhism was introduced in 84 B C. A large number of monasteries flourished, and a rich literature arose in the Khotanese language. It was a repository of Sanskrit texts for the Chinese, who sent missions to get them. A short version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been found in Khotanese. A Sanskrit-Khotanese conversation manual for Central Asian travellers is an interesting piece of travel literature of the ninth century. The Turkish rulers of Kashgar conquered Khotan in 1106 and the early Irano-Indian culture vanished. This Ratna-janapada 'Land of Jade' was islamized, its language disappeared, and it became a backwater town of Sinkiang. Situated on the southern Silk Route, today it is a desert surface that shelters small lizards. Ruins of temple complexes at Dandan-uilk have frescos and Brahmi documents. Niya has yielded a room of administrative documents on wood in Prakrit. These are the only administrative records in Prakrit ever discovered.

Tokharian monks, who lived on the northwestern frontiers of India, began a grotto, complex at Kizil in the oasis kingdom of Kucha. The cultural riches of Kucha are a chance discovery by Major-General Bower, who came here in 1890 on a confidential mission from the Government of India in quest of the murderer of Dalglish. A birchbark manuscript was brought to him by treasure-hunters, which he took to India. It was found in a dome-like tower. Some people made a hole in the tower, began to excavate it, and inside they found a cow standing. On touch the cow fell to dust. There they found two bundles enclosed in wooden boards. This was the Bower manuscript. Drawn by the startling news explorers and archaeologists braved the hazards of

fabled Central Asia and found a reality that far exceeded their expectations. They discovered lost cities, Buddhist monuments, the avenues along which great caravans carried goods between East and West, several lost languages and literatures. The most significant treasure transmitted along this Route was the Buddhist Dharma, with thriving schools of learning and art, glorious colours on the walls of cave temples hollowed out from cliffs, imitations of world famous Buddhist monastic complexes of India. The pioneer explorer Aurel Stein called this area Serindia, where Ser/China and India met. It was a modification of the older Greek term *serinda*, which we find as *Seres et Indos* in Horace to indicate the country whence silk came.

Half way between Kashgar and Urumchi are the caves of Kizil, begun in the third century, earlier than the Dun-huang grottos which date from 366. Hewn in the mountainside, their local name is *ming-oi* 'thousand cells or chambers'. These caves are the source of leaves from the oldest Sanskrit manuscript ever found, besides a library of very old manuscripts on palm-leaf, birch-bark and paper. A fifth century painting of the cowherd Nanda in a cave at Kizil is a priceless relic of sacred expression. The three hundred caves honeycombing the Kizil cliff, date from the third to the thirteenth century. They are a panorama of an age when monks travelled with merchants to pray for their safe passage to India for further education. The conversion of the Uighur ruler of Kashgar to Islam marked the death knell of the prevailing religion of Buddhism. Monasteries and temples were desecrated and destroyed. The multifaceted cultures of Central Asia where the spiritual culture of India and the material civilization of China met were

consigned to oblivion, until their dramatic rediscovery in the last hundred years.

The colossi in north-west India represented sanctified *imprium*, splendour shared by the ruler and the people in a common syndrome of faith, in the awesome majesty of the colossi. A colossus integrated royal charisma and religious reverence. The macro scale colossi of Bamiyan are manifestations of piety and power, the perpetuation of dominion in the perenniality of devotion. They were a shared cultural vocabulary that gave Bamiyan security and sanctity among its neighbors who came as pilgrims in wonder and awe of the divine *numen* immanent in the colossi. In 366 an Indian monk Lo-tshun (perhaps = Lachman) constructed the first chapel at Dunhuang, called the 'Cave of Unequaled Height' (Chinese Mo-kao-ku). It can be what is now the highest of the cave chapels. At the time of the Tang dynasty there were over a thousand caves and niches, of which 492 are extant, from the fourth to the fourteenth century. At the edge of the Gobi desert, they are one of the most extensive and exquisite collections of Buddhist paintings and sculptures in the world. They are two thousand clay statues and some 45,000 square metres of frescos covering every surface of the walls and ceilings. Dancers and musicians celebrate the beauties of the Buddhist Pure Lands. The oasis town lay at a crucial junction of the Silk Route, stretching for more than 7,000 kilometres from China to the Mediterranean. It brought commercial prosperity and Buddhist culture to the long cliff, at the edge of the Mingsha-shan 'Dunes of the Singing Sands'. Dunhuang had a tremendous domed *stūpa* which contained a Hair of King Aśoka. Visible for miles it dominated the city and symbolized the unity of the *flamum* and *regnum*. The former

Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita has said. "He who has not been to Dunhuang cannot be considered a well-educated person" Situated at a strategic point of the Great Wall of China, Dunhuang means the 'Blazing Beacon' A defence system of beacons connected the Chinese capital of An-hsi to this frontier outpost This military post was sanctified and stabilized by the Chinese translation of the scripture *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* in A.D. 300 by Dharmarakṣa who is an outstanding translator of Buddhist texts. The *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* represents imperial cults through Thousand Buddhas and colossal images They were the awesome majesty of the emperor lording over the minds of his own peoples and those in neighboring kingdoms. Buddhist sūtras were recited for the security and stability of the dynasties. Hsüen-tsang told the Chinese emperor in the autumn of 657 that he had translated over six hundred scrolls that were regarded as contributing to 'national defence'. The non-Chinese Northern Wei conquered the state of Pei-liang in A.D. 439 To legitimize their barbarian origins they constructed the Yun-kang caves with colossal Buddhist images. Buddhism inspired fixed habitations and the formation of kingdoms, great centres of faith and learning where art and thought flourished side by side, and made literary languages out of dialects The Chinese annals speak of thirtysix languages in Central Asia, of which around thirty have been found in the literary remains dug up from the sands These kingdoms became flourishing entrepôts whence international trade between China and Europe flourished for a thousand years so long as Buddhism was in the ascendant. With the Islamization of Central Asia from the eighth century onwards, the trade routes fell into disuse With the destruction of monastic centres, which had also served

the economic needs of the communities, these international lanes of transnational commerce were phased out. The various languages and the millenerian literary and artistic traditions were wiped out under the new dispensation. The Silk Route in fact lived so long as it was the Sūtra Route whence scriptures (sūtras) and sculptures replenished the people. As monasteries were destroyed, statues were smitten, monks were slain, the depopulated sancta knew only loneliness in the anger of silence. Eternity playing in the purity of silence, mind's geometry translated the faithless flush into the image of Kālacakra. Life and time, hope and history resolve and resurrection intertwined in the complex image of the new Buddhist deity Kālacakra, conceived on the banks of the Syr river in Central Asia, called Sita river in the *Kālacakra-tantra*. It is the Shambhala, the timeless dream, which became Shangrila in the novel of James Hilton, *Lost Horizons*.

The last twentythree centuries have seen a continuing cultural interflow between the Western Paradise that is India and the Celestial Kingdom that is China. The rustling breeze of Buddhist fragrance has awakened the mindscape of both countries, endowing them with the web of thought, the harmony of art, the magnificent colour of murals and sculptures, incarnating a new life and sinking into the sensitivities of our peoples deep-reaching muscles of mystery, draped in the intimacy of the mind. The first contacts were made by Buddhist scholars from India who appeared in the Chinese capital in 217 B C under the Tsin dynasty. The Sanskrit word *cīna* for the country is the dynastic name Tsin as heard by the Indians. The chinoiserie of the 18th century led to revealing the fabulous bonds of China with India. In their study of China, French scholars started to unravel

India. Abel-Remusat did a French translation of the travels of Fa-hian through Central Asia, Afghanistan and India which appeared posthumously in 1836. By his labours, it became evident that Chinese sources were fundamental to the understanding of Indian history. In fact the Indian pronunciation of this first great Chinese pilgrim derives from Abel Remusat's transcription, like that of his illustrious successor Hiouen-thsang

Paper had been manufactured out of cotton in India, and out of silk in Han China. With the introduction of Buddhism cotton also became a component of paper, as is evident from the old lexicon entitled *Ku-chin tzu-ku* where the silk radical of the character for paper is replaced by the radical for cotton. Cotton cultivation had been introduced from Kashmir and Bengal to China as early as the second century B C

Though the Silk Route has been so named by the Europeans, it was not opened as a communication system for silk. At the end of the second century B C, the Han emperor Wu-ti sent Chang Ch'ien to Hsi-yu, the Western World. His return to Ch'ang-an in 126 B C was the opening of a regular road, as the Chinese realized the importance of other cultures. Xenophobia and the concept of Barbarians underwent change. Nomadic tribes traded silk with Central and Western Asia. The main purpose of the journey of Chang Ch'ien was defence to find the whereabouts of the Hu barbarians who had been a major menace to Han-period China. The thoroughbred 'heavenly horse' was imported from Dawuan to improve breed of horses during the Han dynasty. He took back musical instruments and Mahatukhara melodies from India to the Chinese capital. The son-in-law of the

Emperor wrote 28 new tunes based on this melody, which were played as military music

The Yuechi rulers presented Sanskrit texts to the Chinese court in 2 B C. The first historically owned Buddhist masters arrived in China in A D 67. The Han Emperor Ming-ti dreamt of a golden person. On enquiry from his courtiers he learnt that He was the Buddha. He sent ambassadors to the West (i.e. India) to invite Buddhist teachers. They returned with Dharmaraksha and Kashyapa Matanga. They arrived on white horses laden with scriptures and sacred relics. The first Buddhist monastery was built for them on Imperial orders and it came to be known as "The White Horse Monastery". This monastery exists to this day and the cenotaphs of the two Indian teachers can be seen in its precincts

In the reign of Kanishka, bilateral relations entered a new phase in economic, political and cultural domains. He symbolized his international status by the adoption of four titles: *Devaputra* or Son of Heaven from China, *Shaonana Shao* or King of Kings from Persia, *Kaisara* or *Caesar* from Rome, and *Mahārāja* of India, signifying the imperial dignity of the four superpowers of the time: China, Persia, Rome, and India. The policy of cultural internationalism enunciated by Aśoka found its prime efflorescence in the reign of Kanishka. Hsuan-tsang relates that Kanishka defeated the Chinese in Central Asia and Chinese princes were sent as hostages. Territories were allotted to them in Punjab which were known as *China-bhukti*, an area that Hsuan-tsang visited in the seventh century. Now it is a village Chiniyan near Amritsar, and Chiniot from Chinakota. The Chinese princes introduced two new fruits to India. the peach and the pear. They came to be known

respectively as *chinani* and *chinarajaputra* which means "Peach the Chinese Princess" and "Pear the Chinese Prince"

The translation of the first Sanskrit sūtra into Chinese is by An Shihkao in the middle of the second century. He had abdicated the throne in favour of his uncle to take up the robes. A number of his translations survive. He founded a school of translation of Sanskrit texts into Chinese, which was hailed by the Chinese literati as "unrivalled". Among his associates were monks from Sogdiana (corresponding to modern Samarkand and Bokhara) known as *Uttarā-patha* or "Northern India" in Chinese historical works. The name of Khang Senghui from Sogdiana stands out as a master of Sino-Indian literature and as one who preached in South China in a systematic manner. He translated even a short *Rāmāyaṇa* into Chinese.

Kumārajīva, born of an Indian father and a Kuchean princess, educated in Kashmir and Kashgar, was a scholar of great reputation. He reached Ch'angan in 401 and worked till A D 412. He translated 106 works into Chinese. Most outstanding is his Chinese translation of the Sanskrit text entitled *Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra*, known for short as the 'Lotus Sūtra'. He is one of the most outstanding stylists of Chinese prose. He is the only Indian whose Chinese diction has been hailed over the centuries by Chinese men of letters.

A few hundred Indian teachers went to China from the first to the twelfth century. They have bequeathed a legacy of about 3,000 works translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. We may mention a couple of them: Guṇavarman a prince of Kashmir who reached Nanking in

A D 431, Buddhabhadra, born at Nagarahara, claimed direct descent from Amritodana, the uncle of Lord Buddha. Nagarahara is modern Jalalabad. Bodhiruci was from south India. A Chinese envoy came to the Chalukya court in A D 692 to invite Bodhiruci. He reached China in 693 by sea and translated Sanskrit works. One of the last outstanding Indian teachers in China was Dharmadeva of Nalanda. He was received by the Chinese Emperor in 973.

Kabul, the capital of modern Afghanistan, sent the largest number of scholars whose Chinese translations are found in the *Tripitaka*. In A D. 383 Gautama Saṅghadeva arrived at Loyang. Vimalākṣa from Kabul, a great master of *Vinaya* and a teacher of Kumārajīva at Kucha, came to China in A D 406. Saṅghabhūti from Kabul translated three works in A D 381-85. In A D 404 Puṇyātara of Kabul translated the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, together with Kumārajīva. Buddhayaśas, Dharmayaśas (A D 407-15), Buddhajīva (A D 423), Dharmamitra (A D 424), Guṇavarman (A D 431), Buddha-trāta, Buddhapāla (A D 676), Prajña (785-810) were from Kabul who took part in the translation of Sanskrit texts. The Chinese monk Chih-yen went to Kabul to obtain Sanskrit texts. He was a companion of Fahsien on his journey to India. The brāhmana Wu-t'ao of Lampaka (Lamghan in Afghanistan) translated a Sanskrit hymn in A D 700. The so-called Silk Route became first and foremost the pathway of texts and translators, of sūtras and schools of thought, of the triumphs of Buddhism as the mental and material culture of East Asia. The development of Buddhist temple architecture, new stylistic features in Chinese that arose from translations of Buddhist texts, the Buddhist plurality of inhabited worlds as opposed to the Chinese earth-

centred world view, and various elements of cultural transmission, opened up Sinocentrism to wider horizons. The several people inhabiting the route participated in the cultural exchange for a millennium

China has many grottoes that rival Ajanta in their synthesis of Indian suppleness, Hellenic elegance and Chinese grace. The Yun-kang caves were excavated between 414 and 520 under Wei rulers. Fiftythree caves remain till this day and contain over fiftyone thousand statues. It is one of the largest groups of stone cave temples in China. After the first Wei capital Tatung was transferred to Loyang in 494 work commenced on Lung-men. Sculpting went on for 400 years till the Tang dynasty. It has around 1,00,000 statues, the hughest is 55 feet high. It is a treasure-house of China's heritage of sculpture

In the domain of painting lay the principal achievement of Tang. The six fundamental laws of painting laid down by painter Hsieh Ho were drawn from the Indian *śaṅga* canons. Central Asian monks were continually pouring into China as decorators of Buddhist temples. The famous Tang painter Wu Tao-tzu was strongly influenced by Central Asian techniques. As a pious Buddhist he painted pictures for temples. In such an environment the *maṇḍalas* were welcomed as new visual types of a complex and hence advanced idiom in Buddhist painting. Sculptures in stone and bronze, excellent fabrics, finest lacquer, high quality porcelain had the active encouragement of the Emperor.

Buddhist sūtras were meant for the 'protection of the state'. They were copied, chanted and expounded with the belief that the merit of these acts would stop

calamities in the state and secure peace and security. The fifth chapter of the *Jen wang ching* or *Karunika-rāja-sūtra* is entitled 'protecting the country'. The Hymn to Vaiśravaṇa was used in A D 742 to gain victory over a combined offensive by five states by the T'ang Emperor Hsuan-tsung.

Armies, manuscripts and scholars are allies in China. In the beginning of the seventh century after a military expedition to Champa, the Chinese army returned with a rich booty of 1350 Sanskrit manuscripts among other things. They were all of Indian origin.

During the Tang dynasty Indian astronomers served on the Imperial Board for the purpose. Three Indian astronomical schools of Gautama, Kāśyapa and Kumāra were known at Ch'ang-an in the seventh century. More accurate calendars were prepared anew by Indian astronomers. Sanskrit mathematical works were translated into Chinese which are lost. Kāśyapa Hsiao-Wei, who was there shortly after A D 650, was occupied with the improvement of the calendar, as were most of his later Indian successors. The greatest of them was Gautama Siddha who became President of the Board. It seems that these brahmins brought an early form of trigonometry, a technique which was then developing in India. Gautama Siddha compiled the *Khai-Yuan Chan Ching* about A D 729, in which the zero symbol and other innovations appeared. It is a work of great importance often mentioned. In any case the paradox remains that we owe to the brāhmana Siddha the greatest collection of ancient and medieval Chinese astronomical fragments.

Across the vast stretches of desert, in the void of the self, Chinese heard the echoing of 'I am the Truth'

The waterless deserts were the void of the self. The traveller trod not with his feet, but with his heart on wings. Courage tore the terror of the terrain, and despair turned to hope in the supreme quest of a beyond without shores. The desert and oasis became an embodiment of Buddhist teaching. The desert symbolizes hell and the oasis paradise, or in the broader perimeters of Buddhist philosophy 'everything flows and nothing is permanent'. I-tsing speaks of the hardships and perils that had to be braved to reach India. "No doubt, it is great merit and fortune to visit the Western Country (India) in search of the Dharma but at the same time it is an extremely difficult and perilous undertaking. Many days have I passed without food, even without a drop of water. I was always worried and no spirit was left in me. If, however, a monk happened to reach India after such a perilous journey, he would find no Chinese monastery there. There was no fixed place to settle down. We had to move from place to place like a blade of grass swept by the wind". The monk Hsuan-k'uei, who could not come to India as he suffered from illness, wrote. "My heart goes to the sacred land of Buddhist temples. I dream to move in the land of the Buddha. Will that auspicious day ever come, when with the help of a cup or bowl only, I shall be able to cross and reach India? Shall I be able to witness the magnificent flow of Dharma in India?"

The Chinese pilgrims to India like Fa-hsien, Hsuan-tsang, Wang Hsuantse, I-tsing, and others have bequeathed historic records which are invaluable for the understanding of the cultural and political history of India. In 964, three hundred Chinese monks started for India, to pay Imperial homage to the holy places. They set up five Chinese inscriptions at Bodhgaya. One of the

inscriptions ends "I now make use of the eulogy of the marvellous excellence of the three bodies and the sculptures that I have executed of the extraordinary acts of the Thousand Buddhas, in order to secure the prosperity of the glorious sovereign of my country and to offer to him for many years a holy longevity" Edouard Chavannes brought to light these five Chinese inscriptions at Bodhgaya, the only ones in India They were erected to pay Imperial homage of China to the holy places of India in moving language. Unswallowed by devastating centuries, they are still with us

Indian scholars were honoured guests as late as the Ming Paṇḍita Sahajāśrī led a twelve-member Indian Buddhist delegation to China He was received by the Yuan and Ming emperors in 1364 and 1371. He was from a kshatriya family of Kapilavastu His status and privilege placed him in a position to soften the autocratic temper of the emperor Recently a blue and white jar of the Xuande period (1426-1435) has been discovered with Sanskrit *mantras* all around: *diva svasti svasti madhyandine...* It seeks good fortune by day, by mid-day, by night: at all times.

The long and time-honoured contacts have been mature time, reverberating in a subtle interweave of thought, ritual, legend and art. They are symbolic of the deeps of hearts that have never been too subtle for habitation. India and China were linked by a route of thought, a way of cultural exchange, the Sūtra Route and not just the Silk Route. Ideas, *impirium* and *emporium*; intellectuals, generals and traders; monks, marshals and merchants; cassocks, armour and silk were all pilgrims on this route bringing together many races in

companionship. Fabrics, fruits, vegetables, and technologies enriched life. This spirit of an 'open society' was the bridge of dreams floating under an open sky.

The confluence of India and Korea for the last two millennia is 'a stone niche woven like silk'. Our journey begins in the rocky remains of two thousand years ago, when Korea, the Land of Morning Calm, found its identity, its Self-being in a new syndrome. A princess of Ayodhyā arrived from India to Korea in A.D. 48 at Kimhae aboard a ship, with the Three Treasures of statues, sūtras and śramanas (monks). She became the Queen of the founder of the first Korean state of Karak. She established the first national capital and named it Gaya. From a tribal order Korea emerged a state. In gratitude to the Sea that allowed safe passage to the Queen to his shores, the King built the Haeunsa 'Temple of Sea Grace' that stands to this day near the top of Punsong Mountain.

Buddhism was officially introduced into Korea during the period of the 'Three Kingdoms': Koguryo received it in 372, Paekche in 384, and Silla in 527. It was the Indian Master Mallānanda who brought Buddhism to Paekche in 384. It gave the Three Kingdoms a new meaning: they became civilization. In its first energy and freshness it filled the country with benefits, nourished art, diffused education, made roads, established resting places, promoted beneficence and multiplied comforts in a thousand forms. It was a system of morals and of aspirations to nobility: it made vivid and tangible the presence of profound social and cultural order.

In 535 the first great cathedral of Buddhism was founded, called Pulguksa. It is the oldest surviving Buddhist monastery of Korea. It means 'pul' 'Buddha', 'guk' 'land', 'sa' 'monastery', a monastery that springs from the depths of Buddhism, to celebrate the new dynamic and vital order that was to determine the tonality of Korean life for centuries. The most skilled workmen were summoned to make it a monument of restrained dignity and quiet peace.

In the middle of the eighth century Pulguksa was rebuilt and enlarged by King Kyongdok. The same master architect built the rock chapel of Sokkuram a mile away, on the crest of mount Tohamsan. From the rock chapel the pilgrim greets the Eastern Sea facing Japan. It signifies crossing over the sea of life to Bliss. It is a pearl of East Asian cave temples in its overall planning. It enshrines the best Korean sculptures of all times. Superb examples of warm naturalism in spite of the hard medium of stone, they remain unsurpassed in East Asian lands. The piety of the patron and the tender love of the sculptor sinks into the silent rapture of these live sculptures in their kissed limbs, smiling in flowing drapery and deep solitude.

The pensive images of Maitreya are coeval with the period of the consolidation of the Korean state. Maitreya cult was practised at the Silla court by young aristocratic warriors who formed a fraternity known as the Hwarang 'Perfumed Followers of the Dragon Flower'. This name is an allusion to the *nāgapuṣpa* tree under which Maitreya Bodhisattva will become a Buddha. They had an enormous importance in the government both during the Three kingdoms and Unified Silla dynasty. They were responsible for national unity

The Buddhist kingdom of Silla accomplished the unification of the Three Kingdoms and formed the nation-state of Korea for the first time in history. Ever since, Korean Buddhism was the destiny and defence of the land. Monk Wolkwang formulated the "Five Worldly Commandments" to form the basis of a national ethos.

The Korean Hyecho became a disciple of the Indian teacher Vajrabodhi as a youth of sixteen years. Later, he travelled to India by the sea route and returned in December 727 via Central Asia. In Samarkand he records one Buddhist monastery with one monk. Hyecho is the last pilgrim on the historic Sūtra Route, before the monasteries and monks perished in the onslaught. He records this wounded time in his Travel Records which are on par with those of his celebrated predecessor Hsuan-tsang.

To ward off the Mongol invasion, the king of Korea had 81,258 wooden blocks of the *Tripitaka Koreana* engraved. Completed in A.D. 1251, they have been preserved in perfect condition to this day at the Haeinsa monastery on Mount Gaya. They reflect the glory of national unity. Befitting its reputation as a Sūtra-Vihāra, Haeinsa is the foremost meditation centre of the Chogye sect. Stillness reigns where monks meditate to encounter their inner self. As the evening mist pervades the valleys, and mountains dull into darkness, the windows of the monastery are lit one by one by monks preparing to cross over the 108 passions to the sea of Buddha's wisdom. The Korean *Tripitaka*, done for the defence of the country, is a marvel of Korean technology seven centuries ago. It is important for the excellence of its editing and for its beautiful block-printing.

Son (Zen) Buddhism with its distrust of words was in tune with the ideographic system of Chinese writing. Its aim was direct experience without the mediation of words. The quest for wordless truth has been the spirit of Son Buddhism. It has sunk deep in the national consciousness, and Korea has silent workers and noiseless machines.

The last Indian Ācārya to visit Korea was Chikong (Dhyānabhadra). He arrived in Korea in the 1340s and established the Juniper Rock Monastery on the pattern of the Nalanda University. Its foundations can be seen near Seoul. He wrote Sanskrit *dhāraṇī-mantras* on the gigantic Yonboksā Bell for the liberation and peace of the Korean people from Mongol domination. An inscription at the Juniper Rock Monastery dated 1378 records the life and work of Dhyānabhadra and informs us that the king of Kanchi was his nephew. The mill for making *sattu* installed by Dhyānabhadra still lies at the site of this Monastery.

In 1446 the sage-like emperor Sijong invented a new Korean alphabet and moveable printing types. This alphabet continues to this day as the Hangul or 'Proper Writing'. Dr. Kei Won Chung in his dissertation to the Princeton University says that the Korean alphabet was composed on the principles of the Sanskrit alphabet. With the new alphabet, learning became accessible to a large mass of people.

Seoul has the only Buddhist Broadcasting Station in the world: it exalts the glory of Korea's identity. A restaurant called 'Perfume of Grasses' recalls the cuisine of Ācārya Dhyānabhadra. It serves 'tea of honey-stick'. Honeystick is liquorice.

In 1991, Korea dedicated the world's largest bronze image of Maitreya at Popchusa monastery. This 100 feet high statue embodies the aspirations of the Korean people for national re-unification. The Popchusa was built in 553. Two centuries later, in 776, monk Yulsa erected a 40 feet gilt bronze Maitreya for national prosperity and unity of the people. During the Eye-Opening Ceremony in April 1991, three rainbows appeared in the clear sky: "Isn't this sign that we can even move heaven when we are truly devoted? When we build an image of Maitreya in our hearts too, all lives on earth will turn into lotus flowers, and the very world around us will become a pond of joy" (Chief Abbot Yu).

The cultural harmony of India and Japan goes back to A.D. 552 when the first Buddhist teachers arrived with sūtras and statues. Couple of decades later Prince Shotoku spread the splendour of Buddhism in the Land of the Rising Sun. Japan emerged from the limbo of her prehistory, under her Ashoka, Prince Shotoku (A.D. 574-621) who drew up her first Constitution, wherein the *Triratna* (Buddha, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*) were a fundamental factor. He constructed several Buddhist monasteries. Among them the Horyuji "The Temple for the Flourishing of Dharma" near the city of Nara is the most ancient wooden building in the world.

The *kondo* or golden hall of the Horyuji is adorned with murals, whose style has close affinities to that of India. It reflects the artistic achievements of the seventh century. In the years A.D. 643-646, 648-649, and 657-661 the entourage of the Chinese envoy Wang Hsuan-ts'e copied the frescoes on the walls of monasteries in India. Later on these paintings were compiled in 40 fascicules. Some of them were taken to Japan by the Korean artist

Honjitsu, and they became the models for Horyuji murals. The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Horyuji, with a rich dark patina of centuries, evince a particular purity of line, surface and decoration and a desire to see humanity, flesh and blood, fused in most abstract of deities. The Horyuji monastery had yielded one of the most ancient Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Usnīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* in the Gupta script.

The *vinā* under its Japanese form *biwa* is an integral characteristic of the Japanese *Sarasvatī*. The most ancient *biwa* known today is preserved in the Shosoin Repository, dating to A D 757.

In A D 799 an Indian was washed ashore somewhere in the Mikawa province. A young man of twenty years, with nothing to cover his body except a straw coat and short drawers, he was stranded in a country where none understood him. Years later when he became conversant with Japanese he said that he had come from India. He had seeds of cotton with him. He lived at the Kawadera temple at Nara. Two ancient chronicles *Nihon-koki* and *Ruijokushū* mention that he introduced the cultivation of cotton which became the most important clothing material. The Japanese words *wata* or *hata* for cotton are derived from Sanskrit *paṭa*.

With the advent of the ninth century, Japanese life had been transformed by assimilation with Buddhist civilization. The blossoming of the great continental culture in insular surroundings reached its culmination in the personality of Kobo Daishi (A D 774-835), who visited China to drink at the purest springs of Dharma. Kobo Daishi's new denomination of Shingon or Mantrayāna was a new moral conscience of the country.

He proclaimed Buddhahood to be the potential privilege of all as against the predestined few. He became an outstanding genius in Japan's cultural evolution. For the first time he founded a school for the children of common people. Till then the academies were open only to children of families above the fifth rank. To achieve this historic democratization, he created the Japanese *kana* syllabary of fifty sounds *a i u e o, ka ki ku ke ko*, etc. based on his study of the Sanskrit alphabet.

The letter shapes reflect the spans of inner space. Thus the script used for the *mantras* was not purely a writing system, but a visual medium of an intrinsic dimension. Kobo Daishi was introduced by the Kashmiri Prajna to the Nagai script of the period, which has been designated by the Japanese tradition as *Shittan*, from the Sanskrit word *siddham* written at the head of the alphabet for an auspicious beginning. To this day, the Japanese write *mantras* in artistic *Siddham*.

The Japanese language is written in the *kana* syllabary with *kanji* or Chinese characters. The *kanji* unites India and Japan at the deepest levels. All the *sūtras* of Japan are written in *kanji*. The ideographic world of *kanji* induces a sense of discipline, dedicated work and miniaturisation by the tens of strokes in a character, their fixed sequence, and the organic beauty of the whole. It is a feeling for strokes, lines and squares. The square stones set in a carpet of moss awaiting the bare feet of a goddess. Ideogram is the living tissue of Japanese life. Our vital bonds are as eternal as the *kanji*.

Near Kyoto is the Golden Pavilion (Kinkakuji) which was the hermitage of Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimitsu as a

Zen monk It is a picturesque pavilion sitting in the pond, lending grace to the garden of Rokuonji temple. Here arises the ethereal pavilion of *nirvāṇa* overlooking the ocean of existence (*bhavasāgara*) It recalls the Golden Temple of Amritsar in the centre of the pond which is the emergence of Brahmā from the primal waters.

The wonderful art of Ikebana, which means putting living plants in water is to love flowers as living beings and to tend them with kind feelings. The Japanese bow before the flowers after they have arranged them. An aesthetic creation is the essence of life itself. It is pervaded by the warmth of the human heart, whereby one gives expression to the universal heart. Japanese tradition speaks of "Indian monks who, in their universal love, were the first to pick up plants injured by the storm or parched by heat, in order to tend them with compassion and endeavour to keep alive".

The roundish Daruma doll is a must for success in life. You buy it, its eyes are blank, you paint one pupil before embarking on a project (can well be an Election!), and if all ends well, the second pupil is added, and Daruma is rewarded by full sight. The Daruma doll is the Indian ācārya Bodhidharma, the founder of Zen Buddhism. He spent eight years in uninterrupted meditation. At last when he tried to stand up, he found that his legs had atrophied. Thus the ancient frontiers of the collective mind live on.

The leading Japanese cultural historian Prof. Hajime Nakamura says: "most of the Japanese regard India as their spiritual motherland". Japan is a world that is astonishing in its unity and continuity

spanning fourteen centuries. A beauty, both sublunary and celestial, human and divine. The world of imagery still flows into the stream of life in Japan.

For the centuries of India, Japan is an aching overflow of silence. Today, Japan is the *śloka*, the ecstasy that emerges from this *śoka*, this agony, as did the muse of Vālmīki. The epic poet of India Vālmīki burst into a metrical *śloka* grieved (*śoka*) at the sight of a love-lorn bird-couple shot by a hunter. Likewise, the silence of history should become the scintillation of a new future.

Tibet, the land of purity, simplicity, open skies, stony wastes and lofty peaks echoes the memories of monasteries sparkling in the sun. It is a soil honeycombed with esoteric revelations, where one sees things from within. It is a continuum of space-silence, the blue silence of the icy peaks, the ochre silence of the rocks, the illusory silence of the temporal world: all now lost in the savage alteration of aggression. Tibet emerged as a major cultural centrum in the reign of Sron.btsan.sgam.po (ruled 618-641) under whom the Tibetan script was created and it is being used to our day. The Ch'iang tribes had an Indic script, which was standardized with necessary changes by Thonmi Sambhota the wise minister. It gave an alphabetic infrastructure for running the administration, and communications with distant parts of the empire made for effective control. The grammar of Sambhota gave rise to a *koiné* from scattered dialects. The new literary language provided a uniform yardstick and was instrumental in consolidating the Tibetan people in a linguistic unity, which was further fortified by the translation of *sūtras* from Sanskrit into Tibetan.

A wider vision and a unity of great causes was the virile conscience of Tibetan ambitions.

Within two centuries of the advent of Buddhism in Tibet, several Sanskrit texts had been rendered into Tibetan. A hill dialect became a Classical language with the creation of a sophisticated Tibetan vocabulary to render the complex thought of Buddhism. Pemakarmo's history of Buddhism states that a commission was set up in the Hon-can-rdo Palace, south of Lhasa. The efforts of translation for the preceding two centuries were systematized in the lexicon *Mahāvvyutpatti*. Magnificent monuments of Indian gnosis and speculation were translated from Sanskrit with painstaking accuracy into Tibetan. A new Tibetan literary language was created by the lotsavas out of a primitive dialect. The Royal Commission gave birth to a sophisticated language. Special rules were promulgated by King Thrisong in A.D. 826. They have been followed ever since. From the 9th to the 13th century, 4569 works were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, collected together in the Kanjur and Tanjur. Little by little a brilliant literature was born. A literary and exegetical movement lit the flame of intellectual life. The aura of this unparalleled transmission is sung in a Tibetan marriage carol. As the bride is led into her new home, her new relations sing: "oh bride bring us auspiciousness as the translators of yore did when they blessed Tibet with the deep dharma". Tibetan translations of thousands of sūtras and their commentaries introduced a renaissance in the Land of Snows.

To the common people of Tibet and countries inspired by her, this vast literature is symbolized by the hexasyllabic formula *om maṇi-padme hum*. These six

syllables "are the only thing the ordinary Tibetan and Mongol knows, they are the first words which the child learns to stammer, they are the last sign of the dying one. The wanderer mutters them on his way, the herdsman at his flocks, the woman at her housework, the monk at all his studies of intuition, i e , of doing nothing, they are cry both of war and triumph. They are to be read everywhere where the Lamaistic church has penetrated, on flags, rocks, trees, walls, stone monuments, implements, slips of paper, human skulls and skeletons, etc. They are, according to the opinion of the believer, the essence of all religion, all wisdom and revelation, the path to salvation and the gate to bliss" This *mantra* is from the Sanskrit text of the *Karanda-vyūha*.

The medical lore of Tibet is primarily based on the Ayurveda of India. Seventeen Sanskrit texts were translated into Tibetan and they cover six huge tomes of the Tanjur, the collection of Tibetan Canonical Classics which have enjoyed the devotion of the pious and the dedication of learned minds of the Land of Snows for a millenium. In all they run into more than four thousand imposing pages of Classical learning that awaits adventurous young minds to explore their riches in a transcreative vision. The earliest Indian text to be rendered into Tibetan seems to be the *Gyuzhi* or Four Tantras by Candranandana. It was translated in the eighth century and ever since it has been the fundamental classic of Tibet, used in medical practice and commented upon century after century. The Regent of the Fifth Dalai Lama Sangyegyatso wrote an extensive commentary on this text in the 17th century which has overshadowed all his predecessors in its comprehensiveness and clarity of understanding.

Tibetan fastnesses, untouched by war, preserved the rich heritage of Indian medicine till the Chinese occupation. The Chalkpori Medical College at Lhasa was the oldest institution of its kind. Indo-Tibetan medicine travelled to the Khalkhas, Inner Mongols and the distant Buryats of N E Siberia. The 'diamond healing' of Tibet summons us to explore further shores of this transcendent system of a holistic approach to man as a healthy being in body and mind, and disease as a disturbance of this homostasis. It treats a person as a whole wherein the physical and trans-physical faculties of man combat the disequilibrium of his total being. It is a challenging stimulus to thinkers of the encounter between the two cultures, the scientific and the humane, and their rapprochement.

Even the story of Rāma spread into the northernmost lands of Asia, via Tibet where it is found in two versions in manuscripts of the 7-9th centuries from the grottoes of Dunhuang, in an early 15th century poetical version of Zhang-zhung-pa Chowang-drakpaipal, in the now-lost translation of Tārānātha, and in several versions scattered in commentaries on works on poetics and didactics.

Lord Ganeśa played a prominent role in the Sakyapa denomination as the fountain-head of their political sway. The renowned Sakya lama Hphags-pa (A D 1235-80) obtained imperial recognition from Kubilai Khan of the dominion of Sakya Lamas over Tibet. This created a theocratic government and gave rise to a number of legends about Phagspa Lama. An elephant lifted up his father in his trunk and seated him on Mount Sumeru. The father was overawed and dare not look down. Assured by Ganeśa he cast a glance, and beheld Tibet

below. Ganeśa said to him "Out of fright, you have lost the opportunity. Whatever regions you have seen will be ruled by your descendants". His son, the future Phagspa Lama, became the Imperial Preceptor to Khubilai Khan and laid the foundations of Sakya hegemony over Tibet.

The dynasty of Guge founded in the tenth century played a historical role in conserving the Himalayas. The most distinguished king of this dynasty was Yesheo who transferred duties of daily governance to his younger brother, but remained head of the state and also of the *sangha*. He chose twentyone talented youths and sent them to Kashmir. Only two survived. Of them Rinchenzangpo studied under 75 Indian teachers, and became the moving spirit of the Tibetan Renaissance. King Yesheo himself undertook a journey to India for inviting in person celebrated Indian teachers. He came into conflict with islamised Quarluq Turks, took command of the army, but was defeated and taken prisoner. During imprisonment, grandson Jangchubo came to the enemy camp to free him with a ransom of gold. The King advised him to use all this wealth to invite Indian *ācāryas*. A *sanctum* was the security of the state, *flamoniūm* and *regnum* were one. From Dharma arose national identity, thence the state derived its values and strength, governance was assured and confident and provided an equitable administration leading to the happiness of the people. The 108 sanctums planned by Rinchenzangpo were the sanctification of the spaces and frontiers of the state. Thinly populated, with minimum communication, and the Quarluq Turks knocking at the gates and prowling everywhere, the 108 religious centres provided constant vigil through the travels of pilgrims and caravan merchants by their festivals and fairs. The four

major cathedrals were Tholing, Tsaparang, Tabo and Nyarma (later replaced by Alchi) with their outstanding murals, rich libraries and as centres of phenomenal academic achievements. Both *bhakti* and *śakti*, they have been the defence of the Himalayas from the tenth century up to date, having been strongholds of Buddhist thought and culture, art and literature, besides being trading entrepôts and upholding martial arts

Buddhism has been characterised in the Tibetan translation of Asanga.

“(1) As a lion unfrightened by noises. As a wind, not to be captured by a net As a lotus leaf impervious to water. As a rhinoceros treading in solitude.

(11) The study and manifestation of energy in all its forms Energy of armament Energy of application in action Energy of dissatisfaction giving birth to the eternal striving which brings man into the cosmic rhythm.”

The painted scrolls (*thangka*) and *mandalas* of Tibet are the tangled web of multiplicity of Buddhist divinities, which have been influenced by the artistic schools of Bengal and Kashmir.

The Mongols emerged as world conquerors in the twelfth century and governed the vastest ever territory in history A Persian historian speaks of their terror “eagles on mountain tops regaled themselves with the flesh of delicate women”. Chinggis Khan was enthroned as the King of the Mongols in 1206 and the next year his troops were in Tibet. the first encounter of the Mongols with Buddhism. Around 1260 Khubilai Khan the Great Khan of China invited Phagspa Lama to devise a

new alphabet based on the Indian script Khubilai Khan learnt the tenets of Buddhism, constructed monasteries, conducted religious ceremonies and established handicraft centres Phagspa gave him the title *Cakravartī* or universal emperor and associated the emperor with Mañjuśrī the God of Wisdom and strengthened his political position. Altan Khan (1507-1582) converted the Mongolian peoples to Buddhism, and tried to translate this religious unity into political unity In 1577 he invited Sonam-gyatso (1543-1588) to instruct the Mongols in Buddhism and granted him the title of Dalai Lama. The Lama posthumously awarded this title to his two predecessors. Abadai Khan (1554-1588) of the Khalkhas constructed the first monastery in Mongolia named the Erdeni-dzu in 1586 where a gigantic image of Mahākāla was and is worshipped.

Under the reign of the Yuan Emperor Khaisan Kulug (1308-1311), Choskyi-hod-zer started the translation of Buddhist sūtras into Mongolian. Several other literati followed him. In 1628-29 Ligdan Khan commissioned the redaction of "this jewel of the Kanjur translation into Mongolian" and it was written in gold and silver in 113 volumes. The entire project was completed in two years 1628-1629, at the Qotala bayasqu monastery. The spread of the Ligdan Khan edition was delimited by the stupendous labour involved in preparing its hand copies. It was so rare that its sets found special mention in historical works.

Besides the 108 volumes of the Kanjur, another pearl of the literature of the Mongols is the *Tanjur* in 226 volumes. The *Tanjur* contains the translation of Indian texts ranging from profane literature like grammar and prosody to the knowledge centered in the exploration

of the Self One may find here the *kālacakra* expressing the inexhaustible wealth of the tantric vision in its last phases in India We may read the time-honoured Sanskrit grammars in their Mongolian translation besides special treatises on Sanskrit prefixes and declensions The Mongolian translations of the *Amarakośa*, *Kāvyaḍarśa* on literary art, the *Chando-ratnākara* on metrics have influenced the course of Mongolia's literary tradition. The Mongolian *Meghadūta* takes Kālidāsa to the snowy North A number of Ayurvedic medical and alchemical texts are a part of this encyclopaedic corpus of Mongolian

Mongolia was ruled by the Jibcundampa heirarchs from the seventeenth century down to 1924 when it became a communist republic. The first Jibcundampa (= *Bogdo Gegen* in Mongolian) was Zanabazar (1635-1723), the son of the Tushet Khan. His name Zanabazar is the Sanskrit word *jñānavajra* 'the diamond of knowledge' He developed a new alphabet for Mongolian on the basis of Devanāgarī, known as the *Soyombo* (= Sanskrit *svayambhū*). He invited two Indian teachers, who brought the holy water of Gaṅgā, which was used for three hundred years in microscopic form. They narrated the stories of Bhoja, Vikramāditya and Kṛṣṇa. They have been recited for centuries as the stories of Arji Burji Khan (Rāja Bhoja), Bigarmijid Khan, and Gisana Khan in the remotest tents. Mongolia is a land where the academic traditions of Nalanda were alive and where Sanskrit names are prevalent, for example *pañcarakṣa* was the first Mongol astronaut to go into space, space is *sansar* in Mongolian. The national flag is *soyombo* (Sanskrit *svayambhū*). Full and new moon are holy days with 'white food' of milk products and no meat. The *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa in

Mongolian translation is the first lyric. Here people wonder at the size of India's lotuses on which their Gods and Goddesses sit or stand. Sacred *homa* is performed by lamas with elaborate chignon of silken threads, fringe bands over their heads, partly hiding the eyes symbolizing that they are unaware of the phenomenal environment while their spiritual eye is wide open, elaborate amices (*uttariya*) resembling the celestial clouds - every apparel and drapery suggesting that the officiant has undergone the inner metamorphosis or to speak technically he is transformed into a *ṛṣi*. "You will not be surprised if an old shepherd sitting thoughtfully on the hillock near the grazing herds, having coming to know you to be a philologist, will enter into an animated conversation with you regarding the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini which was translated into the Mongolian language already in the 17th century the level of which was achieved by European linguists only during the last century" so used to say Prof. Runchen, one of the greatest scholars of Mongolia.

Cambodia was born in the dream of a young man in India. Two thousand years ago one night a god said to the young Kaundinya. "Find a bow, board a boat, and sail towards the rising sun" Kaundinya went to the temple next morning. There he found a bow and a quiver full of arrows. He embarked and the wind blew him across the elephant-backed sea. He reached a shore where the beautiful Queen Soma reigned. She, the leader of Khmer amazons, launched her war canoe to repulse Kaundinya. The youth shot through and she submitted. They married. Thus was born the first Khmer kingdom of Funan. Sanskrit was the official language of the realm from the third century onwards. It continued till the fifteenth century.

Cambodia is fertilised by the 'Mekong'. *Me* means 'mother' and *kong* is derived from *gaṅgā* (Leclere, Cambodia, p 2) It is the land of *Mā Gangā*. It is the only country named after a *rsi*. Kambuja kings were descended from the great sage Kambu Svayambhuva. More than 800 monuments have been discovered in the jungles of Cambodia.

Jayavaraman II came to the throne in the ninth century. He liberated Cambodia from Javanese vassalage. There is an unbroken line of rulers from him to modern times. He founded Angkor around the fertile area of the Great Lake of Tonle Sap which is inundated by the Mekong. Angkor flourished for six hundred years. It was captured in 1431 by the Thais, and a curtain of darkness descended upon Angkor and the entire Cambodian civilization. The word *angkor* is the Cambodian pronunciation of Sanskrit *nagara*. The Cambodians believe that Angkor was built by Indra who moulded the city in clay, poured over it a sort of icing whereby it solidified. As Great Indra looked upon his favourite land of the Khmers, he noted that its King and Queen were childless. He gave a son to the Queen and showed the child glories of his Tavatimsa paradise. The son ruled over the Khmers and copied the heavenly realm at Angkor. Great Indra visited the earth for the coronation of his son, to give to his child's realm its name of Kambuja, and to give the Sacred Sword which is the Lightning of the Indra. It is kept to this day in the royal palace.

In 1937 a Cambodian, in obedience to a dream, began to dig in the lake west of Angkor Wat and came upon a large bronze head. Later more fragments of

the legs, arms and bust were recovered. It is a most imposing statue of reclining Visnu, the central deity of Angkor Wat. The great, grave divine head is very celestial and timeless. Special scissors of three feet long were used to cut the roots covering the upper storey of Angkor Wat. The real majesty and calm repose of Angkor Wat, has the imprint of the touching beauty of the Khmer mind. It was constructed out of space and time, and it still dominates the one and defies the other. Unsurpassable in magnitude, enormous in perspective, it has a symbolic power and undying glory in its immobility and repose, in the dawn breaking over the forest, the sun's rays piercing the clouds, and the silence. It is a monument to a strong and vigorous people, worthy to confront their destiny. Exquisite harmonies of its architectonics. "Eyes, you may close, for this charming creation will never for one instance be absent from my thoughts" (a Cambodian inscription)

The poses of Cambodian dance begin with the *añjali* or great salutation which signifies homage, deference and admiration. Slow movements of the dance, waving fingers, swaying figures, vague eyes, noble gestures, intricate symbolism immaterialize the motives and passions of men, seeing through an enchanted mist, ageless and placeless. The *Rāmāyaṇa* provides many themes for the dances. The ritual of instruction is the same in the humble dance troops of the countryside and at the royal court. Before each day's lessons, salutation to teacher and gods is performed.

Cambodian is full of Sanskrit and Pali words. *krut* for *garuḍa*, *mkot* for *mukuta*. The pronunciation is compressed and clipped. The Supreme Court is *Sala Vinichchang* (Sanskrit *vinīścayaśālā*). The monastery

to the south of the Palace is Vot Botum Votdel (*padmāvati*)

Modern Cambodian literature begins with the poetry of King Ang-Duong (ruled 1841-1859), and the verses of Mahāsaṅgharāja. There is *Gati-loka* on didactics. *Reamker*, the dramatized version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, towers over literature. Fairy-stories are wide-spread with *yakṣinīs*, Indra's paradise, kings and queens, which are spun into long dramas with the water-music of the bamboo xylophones

In the month of *asoch* (November-December) the waters begin to flow down the Mekong main-stream. On an auspicious day the King takes up residence in his floating Royal Barge. He is purified in lustral water and its inhabitants are purified of sins. The barge flies the royal standard of Cambodia, the stylized trident. The ceremony of the First Furrow is held in the month of *passak* on a date determined by the *hora* or astrologers of the Court. The First Furrow is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *hora* play an important role in the life of the land. They decide what days are auspicious and what not. The cutting of the tuft is essentially the same for the child of a peasant or of the royal house. The coronation ceremonies are events of great pomp. The king is robed in the colour of the day (purple if it is a Tuesday). He is received in the palace by the Grand Master of the Order of the Baku, carrying an image of god Viṣṇu. The royal feet were washed in coconut juice and perfumed essences by the Prea Reamea Reachea Thippedi (*Rāma-rājya-adhipati*). The Grand Master hands the statues of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the right and left hands of the King. When he hands over the Sacred

Sword, he proclaims the formula: "Take, for thou art the Lightning of Indra".

Indonesia is the Golden Land, the *suvarṇa-bhūmī* of Classical India, lush and luxuriant, dense and deeply remote, the myth of psychic vitamins and a source of gold when Vespasian cut off supplies of Roman bullion to India in the first century A D. The colorful name *suvarṇa-dvīpa* and Chersonese Isles exemplified her wealth. The greatest of Sanskrit poets Kālidāsa exhorts the beloved of Hemāngada, the king of Kalinga "sport with him on the shores of the sea . where your drops of perspiration will be cooled by breezes of clove-flowers wafted from the Indonesian isles"

Indonesia was so central to the Way of the Buddha that her fame had travelled as far as Kucha in Central Asia. Indonesia is mentioned as *dvīpāntara* by the Kuchean scholar Li-yen in his 'Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary'.

Peot Tagore speaks of *tepanantar* (= *dvīpāntara* or Indonesia) as a fairy land "where the pair of wise old birds have their nest" (*The Crescent Moon*). Indonesia lived on in the amnesia of our legends, going her own way among blue mountains and green waters. During his visit to Indonesia in 1928, struck by the elegance of the theatrical genres, Tagore wrote: "When Nataraja Shiva, the King of Dances, came here and was gratified with the worship of the people, the boon he gave to them was his dance itself. Can it be, I wonder, that all that was left for us of India were the ashes of the cremation ground, with which Shiva decks himself as Lord of Ascetics?"

Having enriched the cultural heritage of mankind, the golden epochs of Indonesia slowly sank into silence, as the wordless Borobudur enshrines the vision of a Shailendra king in an ecstasy of form. Its architect Guṇadharmā, who had transcreated into Borobudur his rapture of adoration and meditation in Mount Menoreh, is integrated into this very mountain range where you can see the silhouette of his chin, mouth and nose. Chandis or temples are asleep in the bosom of the land in the unconcern of time as they seek a renaissance, in confluence with the texture of ages.

The earliest archival evidence of cultural contacts between India and Indonesia is provided by seen inscriptions of King Mūlavarmān from East Borneo recording donations to learned brāhmanas after completing a major *yajña*. They are written in the Pallava script of the fourth century. In the middle of the fifth century flourished the Taruma kingdom of King Pūrṇavarman in the coastal region of West Java, as recorded in his inscriptions. They evidence "mastery of the Sanskrit language, then the international language of learning" in the words of Edi Sedyawati. They are the convergence of the Bronze-Iron Age into 'Nagara culture' with demarcation of the frontiers, system of time reckoning, concept of kingship, concentration of power by which large public works were executed (like making canals to divert the resources of a river), introduction of writing and an evolved language, and a high spiritual culture. From now on, Indonesia shared new concepts in religion and politics, language and commerce, aesthetics and architecture, all tending to centralization and intensification of development. This led to unification, sophistication and fast pace of evolution of small village units into ever-large kingdoms. Frozen levels of

non-alphabetic tribal cultures opened up in the sublime of the Sanskrit tradition, and blossomed in the spring of a new consciousness and creativity. The indigenous ideas of beauty were expressed in structures and sculptures, in dance and diction with elegance, suppleness and daintiness. This breath of heaven has lived on to our day, for instance, in the poesy of Amīr Hamzah (1911-1946) of Sumatra:

Let the goddess of song awaken,
Love's dancer, slender and straight,
Supple as leaping fire,
Subtle as incense

Deeply committed to Islam, and with a sensitive awareness of Persian literature, Hamzah translated the *Bhagavadgītā* into Bahasa. His poem cited above recalls the incredible intensity of classical sculptures of *Gīta*, *Nṛtya* and *Dhūpa* from Nganjuk and Surocolo.

Sculptures in stone or metal enrich Indonesia from the eighth century onwards. Characterized by curving lines and smooth bodies whose joints and muscles are not exposed, they are abrim with life-giving streams. Naturalism merges into ideal beauty, natural form into supernatural powers, wherein the *ātman* (the soul) transcends the *māyā* of physical phenomena. The reliefs at Borobudur are edifying creations. The balustrade reliefs of the *Rāmāyaṇa* at Prambanan dwarf anything comparable in India. The bronze figures of Nganjuk are filled with the fragrance of sacred ateliers when they sparkled in the flow of devotion. Indonesian ideas underlying beauty become pronounced in East Javanese images of deities, who are slender, lithe, supple and fragile figures.

The centuries of few architectural remains coincide with the golden age of Indonesian literature in the Kawi language. The earliest inscriptions are in Sanskrit but they are gradually replaced by those in Old Javanese. The oldest work of Indonesian literature, according to Prof. Purbacharaka, is *Chandahkarana* on the art of writing poetry, written at the Shailendra Court. The kakawins or *kāvya* poems composed between the tenth and fifteenth centuries follow the rules of Sanskrit prosody. The oldest extant poem is the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*, which represents poetical sophistication of a high order. Its poet Yogishvara speaks of the primacy of the human dimension. Man flows along the waters of significance that transcend a deadening materialistic existence. He exhorts men to avoid convulsion into violent passions. He creates the landscape of the spirit, in a quintessence of the truth that strides along the cosmo-drama. The *Mahābhārata* has held creative sway in the literary and performing arts of Indonesia, wherein horizons and illumination mingle. The Indonesian *Virāṭa-parva* was recited from 14 October to 12 November 996, exactly a thousand years ago, at the court of King Dharmavarmāśa. Ever since, the *Mahābhārata* has given rise to several hundred texts. Performed in wayang, it endows "female splendour, body balance and poise, a concentrated mind, beauty of body and self discipline" in the words of Mr. R. Suprpto. The rites of *Śivarātri*, ecstatic contemplation, reverie of beauties of nature, enraptured love, erotic clichés, lyrical transports, wars and battles make *Śivarātri-kalpa* of Tanakung a great Indonesian poem.

The rich classical language of Indonesia is termed Kawi or 'the tongue of poets', replete with the music of Sanskrit words integrated into the grammar of

Javanese Jakarta is *jaya-kartā* 'the city of victory', so named by a special decree on 28 December 1949, when Indonesia got back her sovereignty. The Press Club of Jakarta is *Wisma Warta*: *wisma* is *veśma* and *warta* is 'news'. *Swasewayaya* is self-service. *Jayaprana* is a poignant ancient lay in modern expression, a new ballad in 'our' form, begun on a day on which 'soft fell the rain'. The Professor of Indonesian language and literature at the National University at Jakarta in 1967 was Harimurti Kridalakshana. The provisional capital of Indonesia during the struggle against the Dutch was *Yogya* which is *ayodhya*, the invincible (a 'not' *yodhya* 'to be fought') space of the mind.

The city of Bangkok has a unique skyline of the spires of temples like *Kumbhakonam* in south India which prides in having a *kumbha* or *śikhara* at every corner (*kona*). If we ascend the roof of a high-rise building in Bangkok, the Divine of the monastic spires surrounds the eyes.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is painted in Thai monasteries. It is illuminated as bas reliefs at Wat Po, a temple that stands on a tongue of land guarded by two canals. It is the nucleus from which modern Bangkok grew. Here repose the ashes of the first king of the ruling Chakri dynasty. If Thailand has an *omphelos*, it is here. And it is consecrated by the *Ramakein*, which is the Thai pronunciation of *rāmakīrti*. The kings of Thailand become *Rāma* on coronation. The coronation ceremonies are performed by Śaiva priests. Painting, dance-drama and sculpture are dominated by the *Ramakien*. In the timeless continuum of Thai perspective, both *Rāma* of *Ayodhyā* and the historical *Ram Kamhaeng* (*Rama* the Valiant) of Sukhothai reign supreme. They are the

deeper furnishings of the Thai mind. Wat Po enshrines the relics of the king who wrote himself into a relationship with Rāma. The people bring him their flowers to this day

The Thai alphabet belongs to the family of Brahmi. In A D 1283, Ram Kamhaeng, the great king of the Sukhothai dynasty instituted the present Thai alphabet. Though modelled on the Indian, through the medium of the Khmer or Cambodian characters, it differs from the Indian and the Cambodian sources in certain essential points

Throughout history India has enlivened human societies, and stabilized inner selves. At the end point of the century, we stand at the threshold of a new stage of evolution, beyond Consumerism to a Creative Economy, to an interacting Civilization and a Spiritual Age, a Converging World and a Cosmic Philosophy. The civilizational-cultural plane came into the world with man. It created new realities. It brought light in the darkness of unconscious existence. It permitted action in opposition to the immediate pressure of urges. It became creativity, language equipped with meaningful impulses, and a memory to go with them. The cultural dimension is the cement without which everything else falls apart. Humans wish for a land to call home and are yet curious about foreign lands. There are unlimited possibilities of adaptation to changing demands. Cultural capacity can and should undergo a completely new evolution on a metaplane. The fateful fallacy that "man" is no longer dependent on biological foundations and is a being apart from nature will not function. The criteria of fitness have to be decided by life and nature. The freedom of civilization cannot devour its children.

We cannot go on legitimizing 'ecotaxes' and graze all regeneration

The emerging spirit of the time talks of the confluence of the physical sciences of macro- and micro-space and the value and validity of meditational meta-space. Bios/Life is intrinsically symbiosis. In the words of Cezanne "The landscape thinks itself in me, and I am its consciousness". We gain what we give: to be whole we must leave the earth whole. Do I walk home to discover myself homeless. No, humankind shall speak a spiritual language, science and technology being its dialects

REVIEWS

SANSKRIT DRAMA - *Its Aesthetics and Production* By Dr V Raghavan Pub Mrs. Sarada Raghavan, c/o R Kalidas, Krishna Towers, 9/13 Sardar Patel Road, Madras - 600 013 1993 Pp xiv+434 Price Rs 285=00, \$ 30

Dr V Raghavan (1908-1979) was one of the doyens of Indian Sanskritists who reported for the first time to the modern Sanskrit scholars unexplored vistas in the fields of classical literature and performing arts. His methodology in handling any given topic exhibits his profundity in traditional scholarship and critical acumen in contemporary literary criticism, which indeed deserve to be emulated by students of any language in general and Sanskrit in particular. Thus the children of Dr Raghavan deserve to be complemented for bringing out the *Sanskrit Drama - Its Aesthetics and Production* on the occasion of the *Śatābhisekam* celebrations.

The *Sanskrit-Drama - Its Aesthetics and Production* takes the readers from the ancient theory and origins of Sanskrit drama to the complex problems in production of it on the modern stage. There is indeed no topic left untouched in the dramatic art. The foundations of Sanskrit drama, the experience of the dramatic art from the points of view of aesthetics and literary criticism, like the relationship between the playwright and the connoisseur, the *rasa* and sentiments, the *vṛttis*, music, etc., in drama, types of dramas in Sanskrit literature, inter relationship of ten types of dramas and *uparūpakas*, and difference between *nāṭya-dharma* and *loka-dharma* in comparison with the Greek models are some of the major areas examined in detail in the 20 papers included in this volume.

The influence of Sanskrit dramatic art on the local traditional types like Kūḍiyāttam, Kathakali, Yaksagāna and Bhāgavatamela-nāṭaka was also discussed in detail with relevant extracts. Compaction of the volume is accomplished by C S Sundaram's comprehensive 'index' of 44 pages.

Some of the observations of Prof. Raghavan, as in the case of the Yaksagāna tradition in Andhra Pradesh, have attracted the attention of scholars for furthering investigations in these fields.

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THE INDIAN HERITAGE (An anthology of Sanskrit literature)
Selected and translated by V Raghavan. Pub. Dr. V Raghavan
Centre for Performing Arts, 1, 3rd street, Bhaktavatsalam Nagar,
Adyar, Chennai - 600 020. 1998. Pp. lxxvii+494. Fifth edition.
Price: Rs. 400=00, \$ 15.

The Indian Heritage is an anthology of translated Sanskrit texts from the *Rgveda* up to the epics and *purāṇas*, illustrating the uninterrupted Indian heritage from much beyond the second millennium B.C. Heritage in its broad sense means those traits of life which are inherited from their ancestors and adapted by the people unconsciously and also not found elsewhere in other societies. Thus it means all those characteristic features of life style found exclusively in a community constitute heritage. These features need not necessarily be accomplished all at a time, but evolved and developed in the pursuit of the given community in search of harmonious living here and pleasurable life hereafter. So every piece of literature reflecting these traits of human excellency reflect the core thinking of the natives of the community. So a search of such pieces of literature, with the rediscovery of Sanskrit in west in eighteenth century, the interest of the Europeans, turned towards understanding such pieces of literature. Raghavan chose very crisp and apt passages scattered in the Vedic and Epic literature and strung them into a garland giving an unbroken image of Indian heritage. To lead his readers to his understanding of the passage, Raghavan has given a succinct picture of the evolution of the Indian tradition in 56 pages, without reading which one would not be able to appreciate the yeomen service done by the compiler to the students of culture.

The remarks of Dr Karan Singh in his forward to the fifth edition deserve special attention "Our present age is full of strife and turmoil Despite tremendous progress in many fields, the dark forces of fanaticism and hatred, enmity and jealousy, continue to deface our beautiful planet In India itself we seem to be going through simultaneous multiple revolutions At such a juncture the insights of our great scriptural heritage are all the more needed if we are to move boldly into the future, astride the irreversible arrow of time, with out loosing our cultural moorings and becoming totally disoriented"

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BUDDHIST THEORY OF MEANING AND LITERARY ANALYSIS [By] Rajnish Kumar Mishra. D K. Printworld (P) Ltd., 'Sri Kunj', F-52, Bah Nagar, New Delhi - 110 015 1999 Emerging Perceptions in Buddhist Studies no. 10 Pp. xx+292 Price Rs 380=00

The book under review is an enterprising endeavour of Rajnish Kumar Mishra to connect the philosophic speculations to the modern linguistic and poetic theories of the East and the West

Understanding language is nothing but the understanding of the man who speaks it and the objects he communicates. Nothing beyond the knower and knowable is needed for the understanding of the reality or the goal of human life Thus all systems of philosophy attempt at the language analysis, while some take it up to the final goal of human life called liberation, others lead the inquiry up to where it sustains usefulness in their argument or mundane world, which is the case with the poetician Thus linguistic inquiry appears to be so ambiguous that for an on looker every view appears to be totally absurd save what he believes to be true But truth remains still a matter of inquiry Against this background the *Buddhist Theory of Meaning and Literary Analysis* proceeds its inquiry The Buddhists and the grammarians view that the meaning denoted by a word or a statement is only what flashes in the mind, thus it is called idealistic A meaning that flashes in the mind of the speaker or of the listener does not serve the purpose of language unless the meaning is translated into action Therefore

because of invariable concomitance in all correct cognitions of the meaning with the objects involved in actions, the meaning is directly connected with the objects obtained by sensory cognitions. The postulations and counter arguments lead the philosopher too far in their logical postulations. Rajnish Kumar Mishra has gone to the extent of making the statement "We may go to the extent of saying that language is as central to India as geometry is to the West" (p.7). Mishra has collected a large number of examples to substantiate his statement from various books, not only of Buddhism, but also of orthodox schools of philosophy. Some times he lands himself in fantasy, as for example he finds in AUM the *madhyamā*, *vaikhari* and *paśyanti* (p 15), which is inconclusive because of the lapse of sequence.

Mishra deserves to be congratulated for he has collected all the relevant information on the word-meaning relationship to substantiate the theory of *Bhedāpoha*. 'Even though Patañjali and Bhartrhari postulate the *Bhedāpoha* theory, as for example while explaining the meaning of a compound word like *nīlotpala* and *rājapūṣa*, the *Bhedāpoha* is developed as the theory for linguistic analysis by the Buddhists like Dinnāga, Dharmakīrti and Nāgārjuna. (Dinnāga was so much influenced by Bhartrhari that he copied verbatim some of the verses from the *Kālasamuddeśa* of Bhartrhari in his *Trikālyā-parīkṣā*). The comparative study of Bhartrhari and Dinnāga in the third chapter 'Buddhist Theory of Meaning' (*Apoḥavāda*) is very interesting. The glossary of conceptual Sanskrit terms, bibliography and index are very much useful for non-Sanskrit researchers in language.

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SEER OF THE FIFTH VEDA - *Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa in the Mahābhārata* [By] Bruce M Sullivan. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1999. First Indian Edition of *Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and the Mahābhārata: A New Interpretation* (Leiden) Pp viii+132. Price. Rs 195=00

B M Sullivan considers Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana Vyāsa as the most authoritative spokesmen for Hinduism and the original teacher of its sacred literature. On the basis of the internal narrations and

episodes connected with Vyāsa, and citations and illustrations in other literary compositions and epigraphs he has portrayed the personality, profile, divinity, and associations of Vyāsa in four chapters. He made his study comprehensive by reviewing the opinions held by modern interpreters of the epic like V S. Sukthankar, J A B van Buitenen, Sylvain Lévi, M Winternitz, E.H Hopkins, Karmarkar, Dahlmann and many others in his discussions about the composition, date and the author of the *Mahābhārata*

Vyāsa is considered as the author of the *purāṇas* and many other works like *Śikṣā*, besides credited with the arrangement of the *Veda* into different texts. Perhaps the tradition is attempting at resolving identity crisis arising out of the fact that there is no one teacher or founder for Hinduism, for no single person would have been able to compose all of them during the life span of a human being

Vyāsa, the author of the *Mahābhārata* is called Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana and he composed the text in a period of three years. Vyāsa was a *ṛṣi*, *ṛtviḥ*, *tapasvin*, *yogin* and *guru*. He was a brahmin born in the family of Vasiṣṭha. Parāśara, Śakti and Vasiṣṭha were father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Vyāsa respectively. All the three ancestors of Vyāsa were the famous seers of the Vedic hymns. Even though Vyāsa was not a seer of any Vedic hymn, he composed the *Mahābhārata* which came to be considered as the fifth *Veda*. The *Mahābhārata* is a story of his own and of his own family for he happened to be responsible for the progeny of Bharatas. Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana also appears in all important events which tilted the fortunes of the family, sometimes along with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva.

Brahmā is considered as the originator of the four Vedas. The *Mahābhārata* is considered as the fifth *Veda*. Perhaps on this ground, Sullivan connects Vyāsa with Brahmā as the latter's earthly counterpart. He draws several mythological correspondences. The value of this work lies in relating the traditional informations with textual narrations about the life, works and role of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana. A reader would be amazed to know from this book how the epic and purāṇic personalities are mythicized to enhance the value of the text.

THE PLAYS OF KĀLIDĀSA - *Theater of Memory* Ed Barbara Stoler Miller Tr Edwin Gerow. David Gitomer and Barbara Stoler Miller Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1999 Indian rpt edn of *Theater of Memory The Plays of Kālidāsa* (Columbia Univ Press 1984) Pp xii+388 Price Rs 250=00

Thanks to the unstinted and influencing efforts of J W von Goethe and many romanticists of the same age the *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa came to be known in the west since the English translation of Sir William Jones was published in 1789. It won their admiration for its aesthetic value, excellency in theatrical art and expression of the ideal of man's integration with nature. It was translated in all most all the European languages besides Indian vernaculars and enacted several times on the stage as well. This master piece was crowned with a host of commentaries and critical studies in Sanskrit and other languages too. But for a comprehensive look at the total scenario of the unity of art and religion on which Kālidāsa's theatrical art rests and the conceptual depth of the playwright, all the three plays are to be studied and discussed in the light of one another. Then his writings represent no longer intellectual exercises, but contributions to humanity. Thus we find that Kālidāsa aimed at resolving a conflict between desire (*kāma*) and duty (*dharma*). One would be able to experience 'truth' which is beyond 'mystical' and 'irrational', and inexplicable by the intellect alone.

Fulfilling these parameters Barbara Stoler Miller and her associates Edwin Gerow and David Gitmor present a detailed study along with an English translation of all the three plays, namely *Śākuntala*, *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*. One common factor for the three is that they received inspiration from the same teacher H V Nagaraja Rao with whom they read these dramas at Mysore. As the editor remarks, there were stylistic deviations in rendering into English because of the natural preferences and differences in literary tastes of the translators. The Sanskrit *ślokas* were versified in English. The translated texts are so exquisitely elegant and perfect that any non-sanskritist with an Indian orientation can easily capture the rapturous muse and transport himself into the art world of the poet. In their studies the three scholars interpreted the language and idiom of the texts, examined the

development of themes and explained the artistic devices in theatrical presentation of the plays against the socio-religious background in which they were created

* * * * *

A HUNDRED DEVOTIONAL SONGS OF TAGORE [Bengali and English] [Tr into English by] Mohit Chakrabarti Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1999 Pp xx+104 Price (Cloth) Rs 950=00, (Paper) Rs 150=00

Mohit Chakrabarti's English rendering of 100 devotional songs of Rabindranath Tagore is a handiwork for understanding the poetic genius and spirituality of the poet Tagore is a seer, a Vedic poet of nature, a Upanisadic philosopher and a universal friend His understanding of the world and reactions to the suffering of humanity are very deep and the title *visvakavi* inadequately describes his vision Pain, pleasure, sorrow, joy, awakening, introspection, aspiration and in fact every human experience is a manifestation of the All Beautiful The very first verse in this collection is a best example

If thy auspicious light is enkindled with the darkness of sorrow
Let it be so
If death brings nearer thy land of nectar
Let it be so.
If my enlightened berevement is brimmed on with they lamp
of worship
Let it be so.
If thy affectionate eyes bloom on the tearful eyes
Let it be so. [1]

The devotional songs enclosed in this collection are very choosy reverberating Tagore's identity with the society and agony for the suffering of humanity; e.g

From fear into thy fearlessness, O give me new life
From poverty to eternal wealth, from doubt to temple of Truth
From passivity to life anew O give me new life
From my desire O Lord, to thy desire

From my cause O Lord, to thy auspicious service
 From the legion to the unison of One, from pleasure and
 pain to the lap of peace –
 From me, O Lord, to thee, give me new life [2]

The influence of Bhakti in his Upaniṣadic philosophy gave a new dimension of beauty in his expression, e g.

With thy name have I opened my eyes on the auspicious morning
 today,
 With thy name the petals of the lotus of my heart are bloomed.
 With thy name are deciphered the golden writings in deep darkness,
 With thy name the veena of lustre plays on.
 With thy name the golden gate is opened in the eastern fortress
 In lustre anew the sun came out by cleaning the shining headdress
 With thy name the play of waves surged on in the sea of life.
 With thy name did the universe come out in adornment [6]

The selection of the Bengali songs and their English versification deserve the poet Mohit Chakrabarti admiration and thankfulness

* * * * *

VEDIC MATHEMATICS FOR SCHOOLS - BOOK 2. [By]
 James T Glover. Motilal Banarsidass, 41 UA, Bungalow Road,
 Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110 007 First Indian Edition 1999 Pp
 xviii+234+46 Price: Rs. 150=00.

As J T Glover rightly states, mathematics has two directions — an outer and an inner. The outer direction is fulfilled by applying the mathematical formulae, like the tables of time, in practical life as in counting of coins for payment to be made in return for the ice-cream purchased. The inner direction is the investigation of the real nature of the working phenomena from the origin of man or universe up to the ultimate reality. In our normal curriculum teaching of mathematics to the school children is more towards the application of the set formulae to solve problems. This is called 'blanket' method. But an ideal situation arises when the

child is provided to think more on how mathematics work regularly and unfailingly Towards this end, Śankarācārya of Puri Mutt, Śrī Bhārati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha Svāmī (1884-1960) evolved sixteen sūtras, and about thirteen sub-sūtras providing intelligent short cuts to solve problems in arithmetic, geometry, algebra, etc. On the basis of the mathematical principles inlaid in the Vedic texts.

For example the following well known 'divisibility rules' of numbers had their base in the Vedic mathematics (pp 110-111)

A number is divisible by 2 when it ends with an even number

A number is divisible by 3 when the digital root is divisible by three.

A number is divisible by 5 when it ends with nought or five

A number is divisible by 6 when it is divisible by both 2 and 3

A number is divisible by 9 when the digital root is nine

A number is divisible by 18 when it is divisible by both 2 and 9

There are many more interesting and intelligent short cuts in multiplication, division and so on.

The sagacity of Śrī Bhārati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha Svāmī lies in reconstruction of the formulae on the basis of the mathematical statements in Vedic texts on the one hand, and to apply them to the modern subjects like algebra and arithmetic on the other Thus he illustrated affirmatively the need for restoring ancient wisdom and connecting with the present for the benefit of the community As L M Singhvi observes in his preface, this book also demonstrates how 'Vedic mathematics belongs not only to an hoary antiquity but is any day as modern as the day after tomorrow'

Astoundingly the book under review, which was based on Svāmī's *Vedic Mathematics* is a text book for the first year at Senior School Course in St James Independent Schools in England J T Glover deserves all appreciation for designing the lessons in such a way that the students of the class can closely correlate with the regular formal lessons in the class room and obtain brain storming exercises in mathematics

The present Indian edition is sending feelers to the Indian teachers for necessary follow up action, at least to emulate the west in the same direction

PANDITARĀJA JAGANNĀTHA'S RASA-GANGĀDHARA -
Part 1 (*The Stream of Bliss*) By Shankarajī Jha Mithila
Prakashana, 209, Sector-15A, Chandigarh-160015 Pp xxv+210
Price Hardboard Rs 400=00, Paper Rs 350=00

Sanskrit literary criticism is concerned with appreciative interpretation and formal interpretation. The appreciative interpretation is related with psychic impressions behind the emotive enjoyment of sentiment. The formal interpretation is related with the presentation of the text in conformity with the generic conventions and aesthetic canons. Consequent on the displacement of Sanskrit in royal courts during the medieval period by the inroads of vernaculars and regional languages *Sāhitya* became an *Alankāra-śāstra* as much as the *Nyāya-śāstra* along with the introduction of terminology and technics of the Naiyāyika dialectics. Thus the formal interpretation has taken precedence over the other. Many poetsicians like Śrīvatsalāñchana tried their hand in this direction, but Jagannāthapandita superseded all of them with his *Rasagangādhara* by clarity, perfection and complexity in thought and expression. It is admirable to attempt at importing all the nuances of Sanskrit text of this type in an English translation. For example Shankarajī Jha translates the following Sanskrit passage

तृतीयसदृशव्यवच्छेदबुद्धिफलकवर्णनविषयीभूत परस्परमुपमानोपमेय-
भावमापन्नयोरर्थयो सादृश्यं सुन्दरमुपमेयोपमा॥

"The beautiful similarity between two objects inter-related as 'Upamāna' (Extraneous, that compared to) and 'Upameya' (Contextual, that compared) and vice versa, which (similarity) gives rise to the knowledge of the removal or keeping away of the third similar subject, is called 'Upameyopamā' (Contextual Simile) " (p 168)

The above translation is excellent, but some words are left untranslated, by which the utility of those words in the Sanskrit text is not fully justified.

Shankarajī Jha has neither claimed nor aimed at to translate the text. But he has skillfully shown how difficult it is to render such works in other languages. He choose to explain some

of the topics in the *Rasagangādhara* with explanatory notes. He discussed in the present thesis the concepts of *kāvya*, *rasa*, *kāvya-guna*, *bhāva-dhvanī*, *dhvanī* and *alankāra*. His study can be hoped to be exemplified for further research in this direction.

* * * *

तरगवती - लुप्त हुई पादलिप्ताचार्यकृत प्राकृत तरगवतीकथा का एक प्राचीन संक्षेप तरगलोला का अनुवाद Tr. in Hindi by Pritam Singhvi. Pārśva International Educational and Research Foundation, 4-A, Ramya Apartment, Opp. Ketav Petrol Pump, Polytechnic, Ambawadi, Ahmedabad - 380 015 1999 Pp x+126 Price Rs 85=00

Tarangavatī is a religious novel in Hindi. The original was written in literary Prakrit by Pādaliptācārya, which has become extinct now. But before it became extinct, an anonymous student of Nemīcandraganī abridged and retold the story in the vernacular Prakrit under the title *Taragalolā*. As the translator observes, the original went out of circulation because of the use of obsolete words in a terse style. For the benefit of Gujarati reader, this abridged retold novel is translated into Gujarati by Harivallabha Bhāyānī. Now Bhāyānī's student Śrīmatī Pritam Singhvi translated the Gujarati text into Hindi.

The novel is a romantic story of *Tarangavatī* who fell in love and eloped with *Padmadeva*. The narration covers the series of troubles they faced in their life and they ultimately reach tranquillity and peace of mind on realizing that the value of life rests on the right conduct and absolute detachment. Thus the lady *Tarangavatī* becomes a lovable *śramanī* and adorable to every one with whom she comes into contact.

The full significance of this short novel of 126 pages surfaces only when it is viewed from the phenomenological method of religion and the principles of narratology. The story is written with a specific purpose of teaching the tenets of Jainism and the need for a good conduct in every instance even in day to day life. It bears striking similarity with Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* in all details including the connection and identification of people of different births. Like Vedism, the Jainism believes in transmigration and rebirth of the

soul Therefore, it describes in detail the sufferings of man from his birth till his death caused by various vicissitudes arising out of encountering people of different mentalities and occupations The novel starts in Rājagṛhanagara (Patna) with the introduction of a house wife of a businessman of the city She meets Taraṅgavatī in the attire of a recluse (śrāmaṇī) of Jainism at her house and requests the latter to narrate her life story leading to asceticism at a very early age Now the lady mendicant takes the reader to Vatsadeśa ruled by Udayana, a mythical hero of several poems in Sanskrit.

There was a businessman by name Vrsabhasena who had a daughter by name Taraṅgavatī Taraṅgavatī fell in love with a youth Padmadeva and the both eloped They faced several torturous experiences, which taught them a lesson of good conduct They encountered life and death many a time and finally realized that the śrāmaṇa-dharma 'conduct of a recluse' preached by different teachers of Jainism is the only escape from the suffering The psychological imbalances, emotional outbursts, and even the failures in life were very well organized leading the narration inherently strong with various characters Thus this work provides, however small it may be in its size, a reason to look for a religion to be followed by a human being

* * * * *

युगप्रधान आचार्य श्री जिनदत्तसूरि का जैन धर्म एवं साहित्य में योगदान by Smitaprajñāśrī Vichakshana Smṛiti Prakashan, Kharataragaccha Trust, Dadasaheb Pagala, Navarangpura, Ahmedabad - 380009, 1999 Pp xv+264 Price Rs. 150=00

The book under review is a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Smitaprajñāśrī It is aimed at to describe the life and the contribution of Jinadattasūri to Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa and to Jain philosophy Jinadattasūri lived from 1075 to 1154 A D and was a contemporary of Hemacandrasūri He belonged to Gujarat according to the division of the country into modern linguistic states Jinadattasūri chose creative poetry to propagate the religion and philosophy of Jains Very interestingly very few works of this poet-philosopher survived and published

The present monograph gives an account of his 6 Sanskrit works, 15 Prakrit works and 3 Apabhramsa works in very lucid Hindi. Gujarat and Rajasthan were the areas in which very valorous heroes and warriors engaged themselves in wars and acts of cruelty. Several Jain teachers and poets influenced their minds and turned them to absolute nonviolence by persuasion and practice of absolute non-violence. So the Jain writers during this period speak profusely on good conduct and righteousness.

During this period the literary and religious movements went together and influenced equally the writers and poets in all languages alike all over the country. The literary merits enlisted by Smitaprajñāsī once again prove that during the medieval period the literary trends all over the country were uniform, even though the types of readers were different and the social demands were varied. Therefore Smitaprajñāsī deserves all appreciation for her sincerity in her attempt.

* * * * *

श्रीमद्भागवतमहापुराणम् - समाहात्म्यम् (सात्वतसंहिता) Edited by Navanītapriya Jyesthārāma Śāstri. Pub. by Vidyānidhi Trust, Vrajāvihara, Modisanth - Motipol, Nadiad - 387001, Khoda dist., Gujarat. 1998. Pp. xl+726+9. Price Free of cost.

The present edition is the text of *Śrīmadbhāgavata-mahāpurāṇa* along with the *Māhātmya*. The Bhakti movement brought many innovative and reforming changes in religion and modes of worship during the medieval period. These changes have indeed sustained the tradition in spite of foreign inroads, etc. The contributions made by philosophers and saints like Rāmānuja, Vallabha, Caitanya, Rūpagosvāmī, and Bodhendra are invaluable. *Nāmasaṃkīrtana* 'repeating/singing the name of god', *bhajana* 'repeating the name in chorus', *kīrtana* 'singing the glory of god to a musical score', *pārāyana* 'reading the poems of devotion' are various modes to get the highest degree of concentration in *dhyāna*. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the heroes of the epics were identified with the Brahman or target of *dhyāna*. This led to another religious belief that the devotee is equal to the God Himself and the short cut in *dhyāna* is to worship the God's devotee in the form of reading his life story.

Thus the first nine *skandhas* of the *Bhāgavata* is filled with the glorious life stories of the *bhāgavatas* 'devotees' of the Bhagavān Viṣṇu. Thus even though Śrīkṛṣṇa is described only in the 10th and 11th *skandhas*, the *Bhāgavata* was proclaimed as the best book of devotion for daily recitation.

The followers of Vallabhācārya school of Advaita believe in the monistic philosophy with Vaiṣṇava religious practices. Thus the *Bhāgavata* is called *Sāttvata-saṃhitā*, epitomizing the true spirit of Viṣṇuism. Even though the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* claims itself a historical account of 10 topics of interest like the genealogies of kings, etc. (12.7.9, 10), it became very dear to the Hindu minds as a book of *bhagavad-vibhūti*.

The *Bhāgavata* as followed by Vallabhācārya is taken as the base for this edition by Navanītapriya Jyesthārāma Śāstrī and published by the Vidyānidhi Trust. It was printed elegantly in 1/4 Demi size in big Devanāgarī characters for the benefit of easy reading. But before using it the reader has to correct the text in accordance with two big errata, one added at the end and the other supplied separately. It is a laudable enterprise to undertake this publication of 738 pages for free distribution to the learned devotees.

M. Srimannarayana Murti

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